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A GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN ERA.

FOR CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND READING CIRCLES,
AND FOR SELF-INSTRUCTION.

VOL. III.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

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ABBREVIATIONS IN THE LISTS OF BOOKS FOR CONSULTATION.

A. C. Q. 9. = American Catholic Quarterly. Vol. 9.

D. R. '79; 1, 2, 3, 4. = Dublin Review. 1879. January, April, July, October.

M. '78: 1, 2, 3. = Month. 1878. Jan.-April, May-Aug., Sept.-Dec.

St. 40. = Stimmen aus Maria Laach. Vol. 40.

I. Th. Z. '79. = Innsbruck Theologische Zeitschrift. 1879.

E. H. Q. 10; 1, 2, 3, 4. = English Historical Quarterly. Vol. 10. Jan., April, July, Oct.

E. R. '68; 1, 2, 3, 4. = Edinburgh Review. 1868. Jan., April, July, Oct.

Q. R. '91; 1, 2, 3, 4. = Quarterly Review (London). 1891. Jan., April, July, Oct.

BOOK I.

CAUSES OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION.

§ 1.

THE HANOVERIAN OR PROTESTANT SUCCESSION IN ENGLAND.

1. Union of England and Scotland. — The Act of Settlement, by which the crown of England was forever conferred on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, the granddaughter of James I., and her issue, had been passed in 1701. Three years later Scotland passed the Act of Security which declared that, unless certain securities were given for the religion, freedom and trade of Scotland, the Scotch Parliament should, on the demise of Queen Anne, choose a king of her own from among the Protestant descendants of the Stuarts. To prevent this act from being carried into effect, a Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland was effected in the second Parliament of Queen Anne, 1707, though this union met with a strong opposition in Scotland. The measure provided that Sophia and her Protestant heirs should succeed to the crown of the united kingdom. Scotland was to send sixteen elective Peers and forty-five Commoners to the one Parliament of Great Britain. The Act of Union left the laws, the legal administration and the Presbyterian kirk of Scotland untouched. The Union Jack, a combination of the crosses of St. George and of St. Andrew, was adopted as the national flag of Great Britain.

2. Succession of George I., 1714–1727. — After the Peace of Utrecht, the question of the English succession rose into greater prominence. The health of Queen Anne was failing. The House of Commons was strongly Tory, the House of Lords about equally divided between the two parties. A large proportion of the Tories were Jacobites. In Scotland the dominant sentiment of the Highlanders and the Episcopalians was Jacobite; but even the Presbyterians of the Lowlands hated the union with England more than the Catholic "Pretender." Nearly every leading statesman in England was in correspondence with James III. Bolingbroke regarded the succession of James as the only hope to save himself and the Tories from being ousted by the Whigs, who all belonged to the Hanover party. Many civil and military offices were consequently filled by the leading ministers with Jacobites; the government of Scotland was given to the Jacobite Earl of Mar. Queen Anne had no sympathy for Sophia and the Elector of Hanover. Troubled in conscience by the part she had taken in dethroning her father, she secretly favored the succession of her exiled brother. The hesitation which the Earl of Oxford betrayed in furthering the cause of James III. led to his dismissal from office.

The succession to the throne of his fathers would surely have fallen to James III. had he but complied with the one essential condition demanded by all his Protestant adherents: his consent to change or at least dissemble his Catholic faith. But with a magnanimity that may be called heroic, he steadily refused this consent, though he was ready to grant toleration to Protestants. His invariable answer was: "I neither want counsel nor advice to remain unalterable in my fixed resolution of never dissembling my religion; but rather shall I abandon all than act against my conscience and honor, cost what it will."

Such was the state of things when, on the day following Oxford's dismissal, the queen's disease suddenly took a fatal turn. The Privy Council was at once summoned, Argyle, Somerset and Shrewsbury, three champions of the Protestant succession, took the management of affairs into their hands, before the Jacobites could recover from their bewilderment at the sudden change. The queen died August 1, 1714, and the Elector of Hanover was proclaimed as George I. without opposition.

3. Whig Policy. — George I. dismissed nearly all the Tories from office and appointed a Whig ministry. The cabinet now became still more independent of the sovereign than in the former

reign, as George, who could not speak English, absented himself from its meetings, an example which was followed by all subsequent English kings. In the new Parliament, chosen 1715, the Whigs had the majority in both houses. And indeed, Whig government was indispensable for securing the stability of the Hanoverian succession. All the measures adopted by the Whigs tended to make their success permanent.

4. The Rising of the Earl of Mar, 1715–16. — The first measure passed by the Whigs was the impeachment of the Tory leaders as traitors on account of the secret agreements which they had made with Louis XIV. during the peace negotiations. Oxford was sentenced to two years imprisonment. Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to France and were attainted in England. These proceedings again swelled the ranks of the Jacobites. Everywhere the people were ready to rise against George who had managed to make himself unpopular in a very short time. The Earl of Mar rose in Scotland. He was met by Argyle at Sheriffmuir. Each commander-in-chief led the right wing of his own army. The result was, that each right wing was victorious, each left wing defeated. Argyle, however, maintained the field. At the same time the English Jacobites surrendered at Preston without a battle. The landing of James III. in December, 1715, and his entry in Dundee could not save the lost cause, as the death of Louis XIV. in the same year had deprived the pretender of foreign aid, and the Whigs had all the resources of the government at their disposal. In 1716 James Edward sailed back to France.

5. Change of Foreign Policy. — The second means adopted by the Whigs to secure permanent power was a reversal of their foreign policy. In France Philip, Duke of Orleans (1715–1723), who set the boy king and the country an example of the most shameless debauchery, was Regent for the sickly Louis XV. In case of Louis' death the crown, according to the Peace of Utrecht, was to devolve upon the Regent. The only menace to his succession was the intention, with which Philip V. of Spain was credited, of claiming the French crown in spite of the Peace of Utrecht. This would have led to another European war. Consequently the Regent concluded a treaty with England and Holland which guaranteed the

order of succession in France and England, and banished James III. from French soil. Thus it happened, that in the new order of things the Whigs and not the Tories, were the advocates of peace, and that France upheld the Protestant succession which Louis XIV. had so strenuously opposed.

6. The Septennial Act, 1716. — A third measure favorable to the Whigs was the Septennial Act, under which future Parliaments were to sit seven instead of three years. The present Parliament thus prolonged its own duration for four years.

7. **Administration of Walpole, 1721-1742.** — The Whigs were further strengthened by Robert Walpole's financial ability. The period of war had been followed by a period of commercial speculation. Joint-stock companies sprang up on every side. The most prominent among them, the South Sea Company, was founded by Harley in 1711 for trading with Spanish America. Swindlers, politicians, ministers of State, vied with each other to raise the value of shares which were worthless in themselves. The same popular infatuation raged in France (1718–20), where a Scotchman, John Law, founded the Royal Bank in connection with the Louisiana Company, and issued notes to the amount of 3,000,000,000 francs. The sudden collapse of the bank and the company in France led to the bursting of the South Sea bubble in England, an event which beggared thousands of families among all classes. Amidst the general crash Walpole was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. By his clever devices the shareholders were saved at least a portion of their property. What with the credit he obtained for allaying the financial panic, and what with the unblushing bribery resorted to in electing Whig members and in managing them after election, Walpole maintained himself in office for twenty-one years. His administration (1721–1742) nearly ran parallel with that of Cardinal Fleury in France (1726–1743). Walpole was the first who had the power, if not the name, of Prime Minister in an English cabinet. Both under George I. and George II. every minister was dismissed who questioned Walpole's authority. Henceforth it was the rule that the First Lord of the Treasury, who had to find the revenues expended by the other ministers, should be Prime Minister. Walpole's policy of "peace abroad and doing nothing at home" was successful. He chose his measures, not for their wisdom or justice, but for their expediency. He was convinced that every man has his price, and acted upon this conviction. Since the Revolution of 1688, public morality had sunk lower and lower. Walpole's administration fell in with a time of religious indifferentism and skepticism, of unconcealed vice from the court downward, of drunkenness among the higher classes, of general venality and unscrupulous money-making.

8. Death of George I. — George II., 1727–1760. — George I. squandered his income on Hanoverian favorites. In 1727 he went over sea to enjoy himself in Hanover. On his way to Osnabrueck he got a stroke of apoplexy and died in his carriage. His son and successor, George II., had the advantage over his father of speaking the English tongue. In difficulties he allowed himself to be guided by the sound judgment of his wife, Queen Caroline, the steady friend and protectress of Walpole.

The Electress Sophia on the Hanov. Succession. E. H. R. 1, 3. — Lord Mahon: Hist. of Eng. 1701–13. — E. E. Morris: *The Age of Anne.* — Mackinon: *The Union of England and Scotland.* — Hallam, Const. Hist. III. 14. — MacCarthy and Thackeray: *The Four Georges.* — *Lives of Walpole* by: Dobson; Haywood (Emin. Statesmen); Scott (Biographies); Macaulay (Essays); Seeley; Morley. — W. E. H. Lecky: *A Hist. of Engl. in the 18th Century*, v. 1. ch. 1-3. *Settlement of the Hanov. Succ. in Onno Klopp* (House of Stuart), vol. 14.

§ 2.

PENAL LAWS AGAINST CATHOLICS IN IRELAND.

9. The Penal Code. — The penal code, which began under William III., received its worst features under Anne and was largely extended under the first two Georges. It was entirely unprovoked by any active disloyalty on the part of the Catholics, either in England or in Ireland. Its statutes poisoned all official, social, commercial and private relations between Catholics and Protestants, even the most sacred domestic relations in Catholic families. It aimed at nothing less than the complete extirpation of the Catholic faith in Ireland.

10. Laws About Religious Worship. — All Catholic archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars-general, all Jesuits, friars and unregistered priests were ordered to leave the country, under penalty of being imprisoned on the first offense, banished on the second, and hung, disemboweled and quartered on the third. Under the law of 1703 a parish priest who had registered his name, his parish and other particulars, and had taken the oath of allegiance, could celebrate Mass, but only in his parish. He was not allowed to have a curate. No steeple, bell or cross was to indicate the place and time of worship. Pilgrimages were punished with fines and lashes. A Catholic who induced a Protestant to join his faith, suffered the penalties of Praemunire. Under the law of 1709, every registered priest had to take, in addition to the oath of allegiance, the oath of abjuration, declaring that James

III. had no right and title whatever to the crown, and approving "heartily, freely and willingly," the justice of the Revolution and of an exclusively Protestant succession. No self-respecting Catholic could take this oath. The authorities of the church declared it sinful. Only thirty-three registered priests, it is said, took this oath. A reward of 50*l.* was offered for the detection of a Catholic dignitary, 20*l.* for a priest, and 10*l.* for a teacher. Two justices of the peace might compel any Catholic above 18 years of age to disclose any particular which had come to his knowledge about priests, the celebration of Mass, or Catholic schools; if he refused to answer he was to be imprisoned for a year. Neglect in executing the provisions of this law on the part of the magistrates entailed a fine of 100*l.*, one half to go to the informer. Thus in a purely Catholic country, Catholic Bishops and priests were obliged to live in obscure hovels, under feigned names, moving continually from place to place, and meeting their flock under the shadow of night, in caverns or among the mountains.

11. **Laws as to Civil Rights.** — Irish Catholics were forbidden to sit in the Irish Parliament, to vote at elections or to serve on grand juries. They were excluded from the army, from the navy, from the town corporations, from the magistracies, from the bench, from the bar, from every government office, high or low. Their houses might be ransacked at any time in search of arms. Except in the linen trade, no Catholic could have more than two apprentices. No Catholic could possess a horse worth more than 5*l.* Any Protestant offering that sum, could appropriate the horse of his Catholic neighbor. Popish horses could be attached and seized for the militia.

12. **Laws Prohibiting Catholic Education.** — The laws on Catholic education amounted to universal, unlimited, unqualified proscription. A Catholic could not attend a University, nor be the guardian of a child, nor a schoolmaster, nor a private tutor. Catholic parents could not send their children to be educated abroad. Since 1733 the only schools supported by public funds for Catholics were Protestant proselytizing schools.

13. **Laws Affecting Property.** — No Catholic was allowed to buy or inherit, or will land or receive it as a gift from Protestants. No Catholic could hold life annuities, or leases for more than 31 years. If by skill or industry he increased his profits so as to exceed a certain rate fixed by law, and at the same time failed to increase this rent, the farm was to belong to the first Protestant who made the discovery. If a Catholic secretly purchased his own forfeited estates, or any other land in the possession of a Protestant, the first Protestant informer against him became the proprietor.

14. **Laws Affecting Domestic Life.** — Still worse were the laws intended to sow discord and insubordination in Catholic families. The eldest son of a Catholic who would turn Protestant, was to succeed to the family estate, which from that moment could no longer be sold or charged with debt or

legacy. If a child, however young, declared himself a Protestant, he was to be immediately taken from his Catholic parents, and delivered to the custody of a Protestant relative. The Court of Chancery could make out an allowance for the maintenance of the son from the father's property at the court's discretion. In like manner a wife who apostatized, was immediately freed from the husband's control and assigned a certain portion of her husband's property. No Protestant could marry a Catholic without incurring all the disabilities of the penal code; any priest who blessed such a marriage was to be hanged. Some of the most outrageous acts, however, of the Irish Parliament were shelved by Walpole.

15. Walpole's Power Waning. — Walpole's power began to wane when, for a bitter quarrel with his father, Frederic Prince of Wales had been banished from court. He placed himself at the head of the opposition against Walpole. Still more disastrous for the latter was the death of Queen Caroline, his steadfast friend. Public opinion, roused by Spain's resistance to English smuggling in America, forced Walpole against his inclination into a naval war with Spain. The opposition charged Walpole with the poor success of his desultory warfare. He resigned in 1742 and was transferred to the House of Lords as Earl of Orford.

Lecky: v. 1, ch. 2, pp. 289-324. — H. Parnell: *Penal Laws ag. the Irish Catholics from the Treaty of Limerick to the Union.* — Penal Laws, E. R., 1803. 4. Th. Burke: *English Misrule in Ireland.* — Thébaud, S. J.: *The Irish Race.* — Madden: *Hist. Notice of Penal Laws ag. Rom. Cath.* — A. Perraud: *Ireland and English Rule.* — W. Cunningham: *Repression of Woolen Manufact. in Ireland*: E. H. R. 1, 2.

CHAPTER II.

THE MAKING OF RUSSIA.

§ 1.

PETER THE GREAT.

16. The House of Románow, 1613–1762. — Whilst the western nations of Europe were fighting over the Spanish succession, a new power in the East began to make itself felt in the councils of the West. Muscovy, as Russia was still called, was more Asiatic than European. The invasion and supremacy of the Tartars had withdrawn Russia from Western influences. Gradually, however, one State after the other was freed from the Mongol yoke and annexed by the Grand Dukes of Moscow, the descendants of Ruric. By breaking up the ancient nobility for a time, Ivan the Terrible, 1533–84, created the Russian state, an equal people under an absolute Czar. In spite of his excessive cruelties against the boyars or nobles, Ivan was popular among the masses of the people. With Feodor, the son of Ivan the Terrible, the House of Ruric became extinct in 1598. A new dynasty, the House of Románow, related to the House of Ruric, emerged from the frightful anarchy and civil war, the "Troublous Time," which followed the death of Feodor.

17. Changes of Government.—During the reign of Feodor, the son of Alexis, 1676–82, his accomplished and ambitious sister Sophia was the soul of the government. After Feodor's death the nobles proclaimed Peter, a boy of healthy and vigorous frame, Czar over his elder half brother, the sickly and weak-minded Ivan. But after a series of bloody riots, the Strelitzes, the hereditary national guard organized by Ivan the Terrible, proclaimed Ivan as the Czar first in rank, and Sophia as regent, during the minority of the two princes. Ruling at first in the name of the Czars, Sophia finally assumed not only the power, but also the name of "autocrat," or self-ruler.

A plot gotten up presumably by Sophia against Peter's life, induced him to surround his person by an army or body guard, to execute some and banish others of her adherents, and to send her into a monastery. At the death of Ivan, 1696, Peter became the sole ruler of all Russia.

18. **Education of Czar Peter and His First Undertakings.** — Peter spent his boyhood at a village near Moscow with fifty companions in military exercises under the direction of General Gordon, a Catholic Scotchman. He studied some modern languages, and learned fourteen trades, his favorite occupation being boat-building. In 1690 he entered into closer friendship with Gordon, Lefort of Geneva, and many other foreigners, who aided him in his far-reaching reforms. His Russian advisers he chose from the companions of his boyhood. In 1695 he launched his first vessel at Archangel, in the White Sea, the only Russian harbor of those days. For the siege of Azow, 1696, he built the first flotilla with which he drove the Turkish fleet to sea. After the reduction of Azow he began the building of a merchant fleet for the Black Sea. From Azow his generals extended their conquests along the shores of the Sea of Azow.

19. **First Journey to Western Europe, 1697–98.** — In 1697 and 98 Czar Peter made his first journey through western Europe. He traveled in disguise as an attendant to a numerous embassy, to conclude commercial treaties, to seek allies against Turkey, to study western customs, laws and religious affairs, and to become an accomplished shipwright. In Holland he worked in the ship yards like any other mechanic. From England he sent a large number of artists and artisans to Russia. A new rising of the Strelitzes hastened his return. He at once inflicted bloody punishment on the Strelitzes and dissolved their organization.

20. **Reforms, 1700–1711.** — In his steady aim to make Russia European, Czar Peter began to make his reforms with externals. Beards had to be shaved under penalty of heavy fines. A government pattern was prescribed for articles of clothing. Young Russians were sent to foreign parts for their education. The women were drawn from their oriental seclusion to mingle more freely with society. The unwieldy Russian money was replaced by copper, silver and gold coin. An official nobility divided into fourteen grades, took the place of the ancient hereditary nobility. All persons of noble birth had to enter military or naval service for twenty-five years. Distinction in the Empire could be obtained by service only. No one could be granted a higher grade without previously passing through the lower ones. Czar Peter himself voluntarily began his service in the ranks. In his war with Charles XII. he served as captain. At Pultowa he acted as colonel; after that victory he was installed as marshal by his commander-in-chief. The army was reorganized after the European pattern, and in the earlier years of his reign, was almost exclusively officered by foreigners.

To encourage immigration, foreigners were granted freedom of worship (except the Jews), and placed under the jurisdiction of special courts of foreigners, who conducted their proceedings according to the Common Law.

21. **Administration, 1700-1718.** — Czar Peter divided Russia into ten governments and forty-three provinces.

The inland governors had limited, those of frontier governments general powers, both civil and military. The provinces were ruled by Woiwods who were also the supreme judges of the province. Appeals from them could be taken to the Departments or Colleges at St. Petersburg or to the Imperial courts in the larger cities. The Secret Chancery was a kind of Police Department intrusted with the trial of criminals and delinquents. In this department vast numbers of men and women were continually on the rack for real or imaginary crimes, frequently for some chance word or misinterpreted expression, or upon the denunciation of some personal enemy; for even anonymous denunciations were followed by rigid investigation, and every investigation, whether it showed guilt or innocence, was attended by inhuman tortures. An official called "revenue-finder" raised taxes on all conceivable objects; the mining industry was alone exempt. Spies and informers, popularly called "fiscals," were kept busy in every department by the reward which they received of one half the penalties. The condition of the common people was and remained that of serfdom. The Departments as reorganized in 1717, consisted of the following Colleges: Foreign Affairs, Revenues, Expenditure, Control, Justice (including internal affairs), War, Admiralty, Commerce, Mines, and Manufactures.

A Senate composed of nine boyars was the highest administrative authority. It exercised jurisdiction over the nobility, nominated candidates for offices, supervised the work of the lower officials, and exercised and disposed of petitions.

In spite of the elaborate machinery of administration and supervision, Peter was unable to eradicate the national sin of stealing. His reign is filled with investigations of officials, from the lowest to the highest, for bribery, peculation and dishonesty.

22. **Ecclesiastical Reforms.**— There existed in Russia 557 (schismatical) monasteries and convents. The monastic clergy in 1700 owned as many as 130,000 peasants' houses. In 1725 it was ascertained that 151 monasteries possessed 242,198 male serfs. The new Department of Monasteries took charge, *i. e.*, confiscated all this monastic property, and in return paid an annual pension of 10 rubles (20 dollars, later 5 rubles), and a certain amount of grain and wood to each inmate of a monastery.

The Patriarchate of Moscow was abolished in 1721. When the last Patriarch died, Peter left the see vacant. To the appeals of the clergy he answered: "I will be your Patriarch." In its place he founded the Holy Synod, whose members were appointed by the Czar himself. A secular official, usually an officer of the army, presided over the synod.

Czar Peter was indefatigable in promoting commerce, industry and secular education. He founded numerous schools and educational institutes, especially military and naval schools and colleges for engineers. His greatest foundation is the Russian Academy of Sciences. Very little was done for the education of the clergy.

23. **Discontent and Popular Uprisings, 1700–1710.** — The Reforms of Czar Peter, the new taxes, the endless conscriptions and the cruelties of his government caused wide-spread discontent. The simple and uneducated people looked on Peter as a monster, a tyrant, an apostate to the "German faith," as bewitched by foreigners. Popular stories circulated that Peter was not the son of Czar Alexis, but a German changeling; that the Germans had nailed up the real Czar, when a child, in a cask, and thrown him into the sea. The religious-minded beheld in him the veritable antichrist. Popular risings took place in different parts of the Empire, especially in the southern and middle provinces; after an uprising in Astrachan 365 men were executed. A rising on the Volga cost the Russians over 300 villages burnt, and 15,000 persons killed or dragged into captivity. The disaffected naturally looked to the Czarewitch Alexis, the son of his imprisoned wife Eudoxia, for relief. Never loved by his father, Alexis had been criminally neglected in his youth. Fear of his father made him flee to Austria. But Peter's agents discovered his places of concealment in the Tyrol and in Naples, and took him back to Petersburg. His father tried him for treason. Though it was impossible to convict him of conspiracy he was thrown into prison, where he died, probably in consequence of the torture to which he had been subjected. A few bishops, many nobles and other persons, were cruelly executed or banished to Siberia.

24. **Character and life of Czar Peter.**— Peter had two wives, the one in prison, the other on the throne. The reigning consort was a Livonian captive who had assumed the name of Catharine. With all his reforms Peter remained an educated barbarian, grossly immoral, coarse in his habits and given to violent outbursts of anger when under the influence of liquor. These faults were, in part, due to the corrupting influence to which his youth was purposely exposed by those who wished to destroy him. Extremes were united in him. He possessed great energy and capacity for work and a passionate desire to raise the Russian people to a higher state. He put himself at the head of the Greek church which he found in existence, because it would not lend itself to his great reforms. If serfdom was not abolished, if no concession of popular liberty softened his autocracy, it must be conceded that the Russian people were not ripe for such concessions.

Books for Consultation: — Pember: *Ivan the Terrible.— Peter the Great,* Lives by: Abbott; Browning; Brückner, (Peter der Grosse); Motley; Schuyler; Waliszewski; Wight.— Ségur: *Hist. of Russia and Peter the Gr.* — Bain: *Pupils of Peter the Gr.* — *The Russian Church, its Hist. and Present Organization:* D. R. '81. 2. — Arndt: *Die Russ. Kirche durch Peter den Grossen.* I. Th. Z. 1894. — *Peter the Great:* E. R. '98. 2. *Gen. Patrick Gordon:* E. R. '56. 3. — Obolenski Posselt: *Diary of Gen. Gordon.*

§ 2.

THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR, 1700–1721.

25. Causes. — The making of Russia was intimately connected with the Northern War. John Reinhold Patkul, a Livonian nobleman, whose hatred of Sweden dated from the time when Charles XI. abolished the privileges of the nobility, made it the object of his life to stir up enemies against Sweden. In 1698 he proposed to Augustus II., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, a coalition of Poland, Denmark and Russia against Sweden. In 1699 Peter signed a secret treaty with Augustus II. for a general war of conquest at the expense of Sweden. The Czar was to obtain a portion of the Baltic sea-board, Augustus was to annex Livonia to Poland. Frederick IV. of Denmark, who had a quarrel with the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the friend and brother-in-law of Charles XII., joined the Northern League. The allies presumed on the youth and inexperience of Charles XII.

26. Charles XII., King of Sweden, 1697–1718. — Charles XII. was in his sixteenth year, when the four estates of Sweden (nobles, clergy, burghers and peasants), asked him to assume the government. The first years of his reign were years of riotous pranks and hair-breadth escapes in the wildest sports. But the moment he was faced by a real enemy, he manifested the fully-developed character of a man. He had a high sense of honor and justice, was religious in his own way, rigidly moral and abstemious, and possessed of indomitable courage. He loved war not for the sake of gain, but for the excitement of battle. But he was headstrong almost to madness, and implacable in his hate. When he received news that Livonia was invaded, he declared to his council: "I have resolved never to begin an unjust war, but also never to end a just war before I have conquered my foes."

27. Danish War, 1700. — In 1700 a Danish force entered Holstein, a Saxon army invaded Livonia, without a declaration of war, and Czar Peter proceeded to besiege the Esthonian fortress of Narva with 40,000 Russians. Charles XII. coolly remarked: "I will first finish with one, then talk with the other." Charles began with Denmark. On July 24 he landed on Zealand and marched to Copenhagen; on August 18 the King of Denmark was compelled to sign the Peace of Travendal, to quit the Northern Alliance, to pay an indemnity and to acknowledge the rights of the Duke of Holstein.

28. The Battle of Narva, 1700. — Czar Peter's turn came next. In spite of the stormy season Charles XII. crossed, in October, to the Gulf of Riga, and landed an army of 8,000 Swedes. The sudden appearance of the enemy and the rapid attack on the fortified camp of Narva threw the Russians into the greatest confusion and panic. In a quarter of an hour the trenches were taken, in three hours the Russians were hopelessly routed. The fame of Charles XII. soon rang all over Europe.

29. The War in Poland, 1701–1705. — The contempt for the Russians which the easy victory of Narva bred in Charles' mind, and his personal feeling of hostility for Augustus II. as the primary mover of the hostile alliance, induced Charles XII. to turn against his third foe. By this move he gave time and opportunity to his most dangerous enemy, Czar Peter, to reorganize his army and to build his new capital on Swedish soil. The battle of Riga, the expulsion of the Saxons from Livonia, and the invasion of Poland in 1701; the occupation of Warsaw, the battle of Clissow and the taking of Cracow in 1702; the battle of Pultusk in 1703, the taking of Lemberg in 1704; the Saxon rout at Fraustadt in 1705 and other successes mark the triumphant progress of Charles' armies.

The Republic of Poland had taken no part in the war. Augustus fought with the men and resources of his own hereditary Saxony. Charles XII. wanted no war but friendship with Poland, but he refused to listen to any proposition of treating with Augustus; he would be satisfied with nothing less than his dethronement. This demand as coming from a foreign sovereign, split Poland into two portions or Associations. The Association of Warsaw (Shrod) deposed Augustus and chose Stanislaus Lesczinski, King of Poland, at the bidding of Charles XII. He was crowned at Warsaw, not by the Primate of Poland, but by the Archbishop of Lemberg, 1705. The Association of Sandomir, comprising the majority of the Polish nobles, rejected the validity of the coronation and supported Augustus II.

30. The Invasion of Saxony and the Peace of Alt-Ranstadt, 1706. — By the end of 1705 Charles XII. had thoroughly cleared Poland of the Saxons and their Russian auxiliaries. He now invaded and overran all Saxony, leaving Poland to become the camping ground of the Russians. Augustus II. found himself finally compelled to conclude the Peace of Alt-Ranstadt, in which he re-

signed the crown of Poland, recognized King Stanislaus, and renounced his alliance with Czar Peter. Saxony had to house, feed and pay the Swedish army for an indefinite time. Augustus was allowed to retain the simple title of King, but had personally to congratulate Stanislaus on his elevation. Patkul was given up to Charles XII. and, by his command, broken on the wheel. Charles was now at the height of his power without having demanded from his conquered enemies a foot of land for himself.

31. Foundation of St. Petersburg, 1703-1718. — Whilst Charles was pushing his campaign of revenge in Poland and Saxony, Czar Peter with an increased and reorganized army conquered the Swedish province of Ingria (Ingermanland), and thus reached the Baltic shore. Here on one of the marshy islands formed by the branches of the Neva, he laid the foundation of his new capital, St. Petersburg, at a reckless sacrifice of life and labor. To protect his new city he built the fortress of Cronstadt on an island which faces the mouth of the Neva. It was not before 1718, however, when Petersburg numbered 40,000 buildings, that the last government offices were removed from Moscow to the new capital. — In 1704 the Russians took Narva, and overran Esthonia, Livonia and Curland in 1705, and Poland in 1706.

32. Pultowa and its Consequences, 1708-1709. — Late in 1707 Charles set out from Saxony, drove his enemies from Lithuania, and entered Russia at Mohelew. His idea was to dethrone the Czar, whom his reforms had made very unpopular among the conservative Russians. But instead of marching directly upon Moscow as he was strongly advised to do, he entered into negotiations with Mazeppa, the Hetman of the Cossacks, with a view of marching southward to the Ukraine.

The Cossacks were originally free military colonies for the defense of the frontiers against Tartar invasions. The Cossacks of Ukraine, the borderland of Little or Southern Russia, lived in towns, and recognized the Polish, and since 1654 the Russian authority. They enjoyed special privileges over the inland inhabitants. They were ruled by a chief called Hetman. The Zaporovian Cossacks (za poróghi — beyond the cataracts, sc. of the Dnieper) were a kind of military brotherhood. Their system of life made adherence to the Greek schism, celibacy and a martial spirit,

obligatory. Many Cossacks of the towns joined the Zaporovians only for a number of years. By the end of the sixteenth century the Zaporovians numbered 20–30,000 braves. Owing a nominal allegiance to the Hetman, they were practically independent.

Charles marched to the Ukraine without waiting for a second Swedish army of 14,000 men who were ordered to join him with provisions. But this army of relief never reached him. It was routed by the Russians, the provisions were captured, and thus the main army suffered fearfully from the difficulties of the march and the terrible winter of 1708–1709. On arriving in the Ukraine, Charles found Mazeppa deposed for treason and deserted by the town Cossacks, whilst the Zaporovians had been beaten and scattered by a Russian army. Only 1500 Cossacks under Mazeppa joined him. With these and his own reduced army he began the siege of Pultowa in May, 1709. The siege gave Czar Peter time to concentrate his troops near Pultowa. Though short of ammunition, and with an army but one fourth that of the enemy, Charles resolved to give battle. Suffering from a wound he was carried in a litter into the thick of the fight; but notwithstanding the desperate bravery of his troops, nearly the whole Swedish army was destroyed or captured, and subsequently distributed through the Russian provinces. With a mere handful of followers Charles escaped to Bender on Turkish soil. The battle of Pultowa broke Sweden's supremacy in the north, and enabled Russia to extend her boundaries from Finland and the Polar Sea to the Caspian and Black Seas.

Charles XII. Lives by Alberg; Bain, (Heroes of the Nations); Treyxell; Wilson, (Illustrious Soldiers). — Bain: *Charles XII. and the Collapse of the Swedish Empire.* — Crichton: *Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern.* — Sir E. S. Creasy: *Hist. of the Ottoman Turks.* — Onno Klopp in: *Fall des Hauses Stuart*, Vol. 11–14.

§ 3.

CLOSE OF THE NORTHERN WAR AND TREATIES OF PEACE.

33. Russian War with Turkey, 1710. — Unwilling to return home by way of Hungary and Germany, Charles remained at Bender as the guest of the Sultan, and ruled his northern kingdom by correspondence from the most southern country of Europe. During his absence Stanislaus and the Swedish troops withdrew to Pomerania, and

Augustus re-entered Poland as King. The alliance between Russia, Saxony and Denmark was renewed. Czar Peter, 1710, attacked Finland, conquered Riga and the whole of Livonia and Esthonia for himself and occupied Curland. Jealousy of Peter's growing power induced the Sultan to listen to the passionate appeals of his lively guest, Charles XII., and to declare war against Russia, 1710. Czar Peter secretly allied himself with the Hospadars or governors of Moldavia and Wallachia, and marched with 40,000 men to the river Pruth. Here he was betrayed by the Wallachian hospadar and, surrounded by 200,000 Turks and Tartars, he was on the eve of falling with his whole army into Turkish captivity. But bribery saved him. With the jewels and moneys hastily gathered in the camp, he purchased a peace from the Grand Vizier by which he restored Azow and all his conquests on the Sea of Azow to Turkey, and granted to Charles XII. free passage through Russia or Poland. The King of Sweden indignantly rejected this concession. But as his presence in Turkey became, in course of time, a menace to the peace of the Pruth, Charles in 1713 was invited to leave the country.

34. **Return of Charles XII., 1714.** — On his return to the north Czar Peter suppressed the last opposition to Augustus II. in Poland and then joined his allies in Pomerania, where the last Swedish army, after winning two victories over the Danes, was disarmed by the Russians and Saxons. To save her possessions in Germany, Sweden confided them to the safekeeping of Prussia as a neutral power, until peace should be made. This arrangement met with the approval of the allies, but was rejected with indignation by Charles, who was still at Bender. Thereupon Frederic William I. of Prussia, the successor of Frederic I., joined the Northern Alliance, 1714. George I. of England, as Elector of Hanover, did the same to get Bremen and Verden as his share from Sweden's dismemberment. Such was the development of affairs when suddenly Charles stood before Stralsund. It had taken 10,000 Turkish soldiers and a hand-to-hand fight through all the rooms to dislodge him with his 400 followers from his dwellings in Bender. Prussia asked him to refund the expenses for keeping his Pomeranian fortresses. He refused, and Prussia now actively co-operated in the campaign. In 1715 Sweden lost Stralsund, and in 1716 the rest of her German possessions.

35. Last Years' of Charles XII. — Charles now made new efforts to punish his enemies. His plan included the conquest of Norway, which belonged to Denmark, the reoccupation of Pomerania

and Poland, the invasion of England, and the restoration of the Stuarts to chastise George I., for joining the hostile alliance. For this purpose Baron Goertz, his new minister, who was as heartily hated by the Swedish nobles as he was favored by the King, negotiated not only a peace but an alliance between Charles XII. and Czar Peter. From 1716–18, Charles undertook three expeditions into Norway. At the siege of Fredericshall the bullet, probably of a conspirator, put an end to his far-reaching plans. The Swedish nobles at once reasserted all the privileges which Charles XI. had abolished. In raising Charles' sister, Ulrica Eleonora, to the throne, the Council of State left her but a shadow of the former power, which was still further restricted, when in 1720 she transferred the government to her husband, Frederic of Hesse-Cassel.

36. Treaties of Peace, 1719–1721. — The Council of State broke off the negotiations with Czar Peter, and condemned Baron Goertz to death. It then made peace with George I., as Elector of Hanover, who retained Bremen and Verden by paying 1,000,000 thalers to Sweden, 1719. Prussia received Stettin and western Pomerania with a few islands, and paid 2,000,000 thalers (1720). Denmark restored all her conquests except Schleswig, and received commercial advantages and an indemnity of 600,000 rix-dollars. With Poland a truce concluded 1719 was prolonged indefinitely. Augustus was recognized as King of Poland. Stanislaus retained the royal title and received an indemnification in money. With Czar Peter, who meanwhile, had harassed the Swedish coasts, Sweden concluded the Peace of Nystadt, 1721. Sweden ceded Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, part of Carelia and a number of islands to Russia, while Russia restored Finland to Sweden and paid 2,000,000 rix-dollars. Having thus made Russia the leading power of the north at the expense of Sweden, Czar Peter assumed the title of Emperor, and was henceforth called Peter the Great.

Other Books for Consultation: — Morfill: *Russia; Story of Russia.* — M. Kroalewski: *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia.* — Leroy-Beaulieu: *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians* (transl. by Ragozin). — *Histories of Russia*, by Ustrialow; Kelly; Rambaud. — H. S. Edwards: *The Romanoffs.* — E. E. Morris: *Age of Queen Anne.* — Burton: *Hist. of Anne's Reign.* — Crichton: *Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern.* — Hermann: *Geschichte des russ. Staates.* — Sarauw, *Feldzüge Karls XII.* — Gfrœrer: *Geschichte des 18ten Jahrh.*

§ 4.

CHANGES IN THE TREATIES OF CARLOWITZ, OF THE PRUTH, AND OF UTRECHT.

37 **Russian Affairs.** — A law of Peter the Great issued in 1722 empowered the reigning Czar to appoint his own successor. As Peter died without naming a successor, his consort, Catharine, aided by Peter's favorite, Mentchicow, ascended the imperial throne, 1725–27. She was followed under her will by the boy Czar, Peter II., 1727–30. His instructor, Ostermann, and Prince Dolgoruky sent Mentchicow, the regent, to Siberia. At Peter's early death Anna Ivanovna was proclaimed Empress. She banished Dolgoruky and appointed Ostermann minister of foreign affairs and Münnich minister of war. These two eminent foreigners were the souls of the administration. Unfortunately her incapable favorite Biron (Bühren of Curland) obtained a great influence in the government. Anna's reign, 1730–40, was marked by two wars, that of the Polish Succession and a Turkish war in alliance with Austria. Under the child, Ivan IV , 1740–41, Münnich removed Biron to Siberia. But his days of power were also numbered. In a single night a bloodless palace revolution overthrew the government and the German influence. Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Peter the Great, appealed to the anti-German feeling of the Russian party. With her own hands she lifted the little Czar from his cradle and sent him, his mother, Münnich, Ostermann and their German adherents, into prison or exile. With Elizabeth began a rule of shameless favoritism which cost millions to the country, and vied in debauchery with the scandals of Versailles under Louis XV.

38. War of the Turks with Venice, 1714–18, and with Austria, 1716–18. — In 1714 the Turks broke the Peace of Carlowitz on the most frivolous pretence and declared war against the Venetians. The following year they conquered Morea and besieged Corfu. They were, however, repelled with a loss of 17,000 men and of all their cannon, magazines and tents. In 1716, the Emperor took up the cause of his Venetian ally, and dispatched Eugene of Savoy, on what proved another brilliant campaign, to Hungary. Again the Pope summoned the Christian nations against the infidels. Again princes and nobles of every country flocked to the standard of the great general. At Peterwardein Eugene attacked and routed a threefold more numerous foe and expelled him from Hungary. He next laid siege to Belgrade and wrested this important stronghold from the Turks after defeating under its very walls a new and formidable

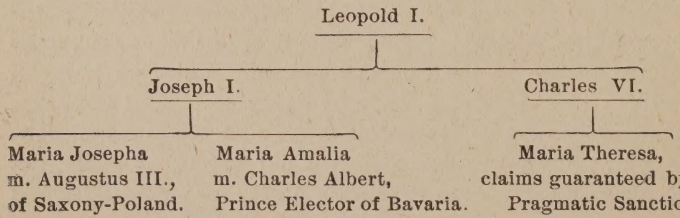
Turkish army. Peace was made at Passarowitz, in which Austria obtained Belgrade, the Banat of Temeswar, the only part of Hungary yet under the Turks, and pushed her frontiers far into Servia and Wallachia. Venice retained her Dalmatian conquests but ceded Morea to the Porte. The Peace of Passarowitz marks the greatest extension of the Austrian dominion.

The brilliant conquests of this campaign were, however, lost to a great part, when eighteen years later a new war (1736–39), broke out with Turkey and ended disastrously for Charles VI. Austria had entered an alliance with Russia against the Turks. Under her spirited general Münnich, Russia won great advantages in the field. But owing to the blundering interference of Anne's favorite Biron, she had finally to relinquish all claims to navigation on the Black Sea, and to content herself with Azow and its dismantled forts. Austria sent out an expedition from Vienna. But no Eugene led the brave soldiers to victory. He had died in 1736. The expedition proved a complete failure. In the Peace of Belgrade this important fortress together with Servia and Little Wallachia were restored to the Turks.

39. Spain and the Quadruple Alliance, 1717–20. — A new war broke out between Spain and Austria. The Emperor still clung to his Spanish policy, and foolishly hoped to change the results of the War of the Spanish Succession. On the other hand, Elizabeth Farnese, Duchess of Parma, the second wife of Philip V., energetic and ambitious as she was, planned with her still more ambitious prime minister, Cardinal Alberoni, the reconquest of the Italian countries awarded to Austria in the Peace of Utrecht. Elizabeth Farnese, allied with Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy and King of Sicily, gave Europe a great deal of trouble for the next thirty years. The wars in which Spain became implicated did not benefit Spain, but the sons of the Queen. The Cardinal's genius for organization had raised Spain in a few years from a state of prostration to the position of a European power. In 1717 the Cardinal sent out a fleet, ostensibly against the Turks, but in reality to land in Sardinia. The island was wrested from Austria in two months. Thence he intended to pass over to Naples. But as the capture of Belgrade enabled Charles VI. to reinforce Naples, and as Victor Amadeus played false and was courting favor with Austria, Alberoni directed all his forces to Sicily and occupied the island with 30,000 men. This new aggres-

sion called forth the Quadruple Alliance between France, England, the Emperor and Holland for the maintenance of the Peace of Utrecht. The British fleet commanded by Admiral Byng almost annihilated the Spanish navy in a desperate battle off Cape Passaro near Syracuse and thus blighted the reviving greatness of Spain. At the same time a French army of 40,000 men crossed the Pyrenees, while an Austrian force expelled the Spaniards from Sicily. Private jealousies and public clamor drove Alberoni into exile. In 1720, the agreements of the Quadruple Alliance were executed. Spain evacuated Sardinia and Sicily, and renounced her claims to the Netherlands, the two Sicilies and the Duchy of Milan. In return the Emperor recognized the Spanish Bourbons. Victor Amadeus was obliged to exchange Sicily for Sardinia. Henceforth the Dukes of Savoy styled themselves Kings of Sardinia.

40. **The Pragmatic Sanction.** — The chief aim of Charles VI. who had no son was to secure the government of the Austrian dominions to his eldest daughter Maria Theresa. For this purpose he established an order of succession, the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, which decreed: (1) that the lands belonging to the House of Austria should be indivisible, (2) that their government should devolve upon Charles' daughters according to the law of primogeniture, (3) that if this line should become extinct, the daughters of Joseph I. and their descendants should succeed.



The Electresses of Bavaria and Saxony were barred by their own renunciations. All the Austrian countries accepted the Pragmatic Sanction, and at the sacrifice of valuable concessions the Emperor gradually obtained the consent of most of the Powers. Thus Spain guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction in 1725, England in 1731. France still held aloof.

41. War of the Polish Succession, 1733-1735. — The selfish policy of the leading Powers started at the death of Augus-

tus II. a war of succession in Poland. The great majority of the Polish nobles chose Stanislaus King of Poland for the second time. Stanislaus was supported by Louis XV. who had married his daughter Maria Lesczinska. Spain and Sardinia joined France in the hope of extending their possessions in Italy. A small minority elected Augustus III. Elector of Saxony, the son of Augustus II. Russia and Prussia, desirous of increasing their territories by a division of Poland, combined to give effect to this election. Partly frightened by the attitude of France, Spain and Sardinia, partly induced by the promise of Augustus III. to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, Charles XII. joined the northern allies. In Poland itself a Russian army at once settled the question of the succession in favor of Augustus. Stanislaus was again a fugitive. The war speedily changed its character and its objects. In Italy the southern allies conquered Milan, Naples and Sicily. On the Upper Rhine the French carried their arms successfully into Germany. The aged Prince Eugene was powerless for want of means. The occupation of Lorraine and the seizure of Kehl by the French led to negotiations which lasted till 1738 and resulted in the Peace of Vienna.

42. Peace of Vienna, 1738. — Naples and Sicily passed to Don Carlos, the first son of Queen Elizabeth of Spain, as a secondogeniture, so that these lands could never be united with the crown of Spain. Thus a third Bourbon throne was established. In exchange, Don Carlos ceded to Austria Parma and Piacenza, which he had inherited in 1731 by the extinction of the House of Farnese. Stanislaus, while retaining the title of King, was indemnified for the loss of Poland by the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar, to revert at his death to the crown of France. Stanislaus reigned till 1766, and won in a high degree the affection of his subjects. Francis Stephen, the Duke of Lorraine, received in exchange for his duchy the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, which fell vacant in 1739 by the extinction of the House of Medici. France insisted the more on this exchange, as Francis Stephen, the husband of Maria Theresa, had reasonable hopes of being chosen Emperor one day. But Lorraine, in the hands of the Emperor, would have laid France open to Germany. In con-

sideration of this exchange Louis XV. guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction in the strongest possible terms.

Lecky: I. 3. pp. 342-414. — Morris: *Early Hanoverians.* — Armstrong: *Elizabeth Farnese* — Cardinal Alberoni: James (*Em. Foreign Statesmen*); Lauth: *Half Hours with Ambassadors;* Moore: *Card. Alberoni and the Duke of Ripperda.* — v. Arneth: *Prince Eugene.* Other books for consultation about present and subseq. periods. Lord Mahon (Earl Stanhope): *Hist. of Engl.*, 1713-1783. — Martin; Duruy: *Hist. of France.* — Wm. Coxe: *Hist. of the House of Austria.* — A. Rabbe; J. Duncan: *Hist. of Russia.* — Hammer: *Geschichte des Osmannischen Reiches.* — G. Finlay: *Hist. of Greece under Othoman and Turkish Domination.*

THE HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION IN ENGLAND AND HANOVER.

James I. of England, 1603–1625.

Elisabeth, m. Palsgrave Frederic V. (The Winter King.)

Sophia, m. *Ernest August of Hanover.*

GEORGE I., 1714–1727.

GEORGE II., 1727–1760.

Frederic Louis, d. 1751.

GEORGE III., 1760–1820.

GEORGE IV., 1820–1830.

WILLIAM IV., 1830–1837.

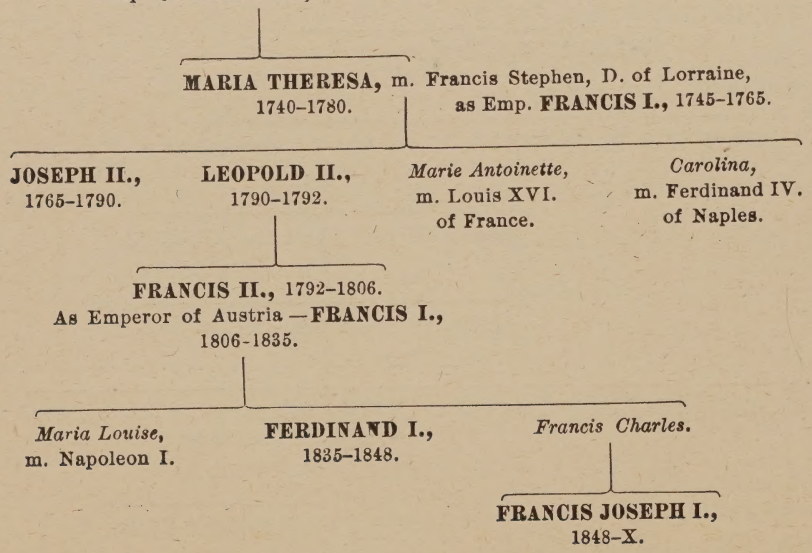
Edward August, Duke of Kent.

VICTORIA, 1837-X.

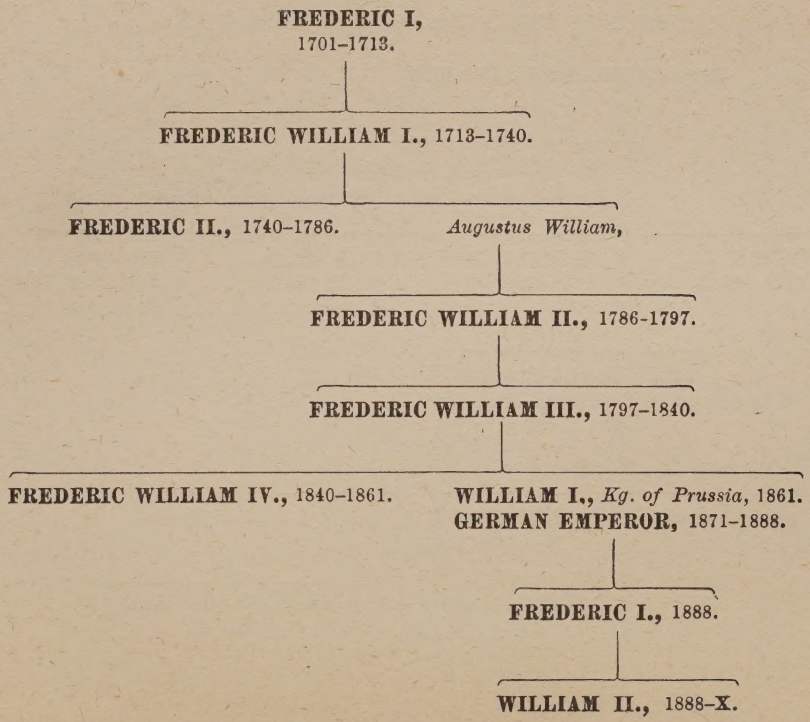
Ernest August, Duke of Cumberland, *King of Hanover,* 1837–1850.

George, K. of Han. 1850–1866.

EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF HAPSBURG-LORRAINE.


Emp. CHARLES VI., 1711–1740.
MARIA THERESA, 1740–1780.
m. Francis Stephen, D. of Lorraine, as Emp. FRANCIS I., 1745–1765.
JOSEPH II., 1765–1790.
LEOPOLD II., 1790–1792.
Marie Antoinette, m. Louis XVI. of France.
Carolina, m. Ferdinand IV. of Naples.
FRANCIS II., 1792–1806.
As Emperor of Austria — FRANCIS I., 1806–1835.
Maria Louise, m. Napoleon I.
FERDINAND I., 1835–1848.
Francis Charles.
FRANCIS JOSEPH I., 1848–X.

KINGS AND EMPERORS OF PRUSSIA OF THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN.



WARS IN CENTRAL AND WESTERN EUROPE.

I. WAR BETWEEN SPAIN AND AUSTRIA. 1717-1720.

Causes — 1. The desire of Emperor *Charles VI.* to change the results of the *Peace of Utrecht.*

2. The scheme of *Elisabeth Farnese*, second wife of *Philip V*, K. of Spain, supported by *Cardinal Alberoni*, to conquer for her sons the Italian provinces awarded to Austria in the Peace of Utrecht.

Original Belligerents.— Philip V. of Spain, 1701–1746. Emperor Charles VI., 1711–1714.
Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy and King of Sicily, siding first with Spain then with Austria.

The Quadruple Alliance, 1718, whose object was the maintenance of the Peace of Utrecht. *France* (Louis XV., minor; Philip, Duke of Orleans, regent, 1715–1723); *England*, under George I. (1714–27); *Charles VI.* and Holland.

Military Operations.—1. The Island of *Sardinia* wrested from Austria, 1717.

2. The Island of *Sicily* taken by Alberoni's fleet from the D. of Savoy, 1718.
3. The Spanish fleet destroyed at *Cape Passaro* by Adm. Byng.
4. Invasion of Northern Spain by French and English forces, 1719.
5. The Spaniards expelled from *Sicily* by the Austrians, 1719.

Pacification by the Quadruple Alliance, 1720.

1. Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards.
2. *Spain* renounced all claims *to the Netherlands*, the *Sicilies* and *Milan*.
3. The Emperor recognized the *Spanish Bourbons*.
4. The Duke of Savoy had to exchange, with Austria, *Sicily for Sardinia*. He was henceforth "*King of Sardinia.*"

II. THE WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION.. 1733-35.

Causes.— 1. Selfish interference of the Powers in the Polish election. *Stanislaus Leszczinski* elected by the majority and supported by the southern allies, *Augustus III., Elector of Saxony*, chosen by the minority and supported by the northern allies.

2. Continued endeavors of *Elisabeth Farnese* to found independent principalities for her sons in Italy.

WARS IN CENTRAL AND WESTERN EUROPE — *Continued.*

Belligerents. — *Northern allies:* Augustus III., El. of Saxony. Emperor Charles VI. *Czarina Anna Ivanovna*, 1730–40.

Southern allies: *Louis XV. of France* (1715–1774). Philip V. of Spain and Elis. Farnese. Victor Amadeus. *Francis Stephen, Duke of Lorraine.*

Campaigns.

1. Russian troops secured Poland to Augustus III.
2. The southern allies conquered *Milan*, *Naples* and *Sicily*.
3. On the Upper Rhine, where Prince Eugene was badly supported, the French occupied Lorraine and seized Kehl.

PEACE OF VIENNA. 1738.

1. *Augustus III.* obtained *Poland*, *Stanislaus* the Duchies of *Lorraine and Bar*, to revert to France after his death. He retained the royal title.
2. *Don Carlos*, first son of Elisabeth of Spain received *Naples* and *Sicily* from Austria. (Third Bourbon throne; first secundo-geniture in Italy.)
3. *Parma* and *Piacenza* were ceded to *Austria* by *Don Carlos*, as heir of the Farnese.
4. *Francis Stephen* exchanged *Lorraine* for *Tuscany* made vacant by the extinction of the *House of Medici* (1737).
5. France guaranteed the **PRAGMATIC SANCTION** of Charles VI., which secured the Austrian Possessions to **MARIA THERESA,** eldest daughter of the Emperor.

III. WARS OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION. 1740-48. FIRST SILESIAN WAR. 1740-42 (43).

Causes.— 1. Opposition of the Powers to the *Pragmatic Sanction* issued by Charles VI., which settled the Austrian Dominions on Maria Theresa.

2. The determination of **FREDERIC II.** to annex *Silesia* to Prussia.
3. Claims for the Austrian Succession made by *Charles Albert of Bavaria* (Charles VII.), said to be founded on a will of *Ferdinand I.*
4. Similar claims of *Philip V.* as suceessor of *Charles V.*
5. Claims of *Augustus III.* as husband of the eldest daughter of Joseph I. None of these claims was founded in right.

Belligerents.— **MARIA THERESA,** *Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduchess of Austria,* 1740-80. The Hungarian levy, obtained by the Queen at Pressburg, 1742. Alliance with *England* under *George II.* (1727–1760) after the fall of *Walpole:* Pragmatic Army.

FREDERIC II. OF PRUSSIA, 1740–86. *Members of the Alliance of Nymphenburg,* 1741: *France:* (Louis XV., 1715–74); *Bavaria:* (Charles Alb., Elector; as Emperor: **CHARLES, VII.** 1742-1745). *Spain,* (Philip V.); subsequently Saxony, (*Augustus III.*) and *Prussia* joined the league.

Campaigns.—1. Invasion of *Silesia* by Fred. II., 1740.

2. Invasion of *Moravia, Upper Austria* and *Bohemia* by the allies; capture of *Prague* by the French, 1742.

3. Expulsion of the allies from *Austria, Bohemia* and *Bavaria,* 1742–43.

Battles.— *Mollwitz,* 1741 (*Schwerin*). *Czaslau* and *Chotusitz, Frederic II.* } *Vict.* over Austrians.

Dettingen, 1743, vict. of George II. and Pragmatic army over French.

SEPARATE PEACE OF BRESLAU AND BERLIN, 1742, between Austria and Prussia and Saxony.

1. Austria ceded to Frederic II. *Lower and the greater part of Upper Silesia with Glatz in Bohemia.*
2. Prussia and Saxony abandoned the Alliance of Nymphenburg.

IV. SECOND SILESIAN WAR, 1744-45, AND WAR OF AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION, 1744-1748.

Causes.— 1. The victory of the war party in France after the death of *Card. Fleury.*

2. The desire of Maria Theresa to reconquer the *Austrian* provinces lost in the *Treaties of Utrecht* (1713) and *Vienna* (1738).

3. Frederic's anxiety for his Silesian conquest.

Belligerents.—The **HOUSE OF HAPSBURG-LORRAINE,** (1745–X): *Francis Stephen,* husband of *Maria Theresa,* as Emperor of the H. R. E. **FRANCIS I., 1745-1765.** Maria Theresa since 1745 *Empress-Queen,* allied with *Saxony, England, Holland, Sardinia,* and towards the end with **CZARINA ELIZABETH** (1741–1762).

Frederic II., allied with Emperor **CHARLES VII.,** *France, Spain* (seat of war of the Spanish forces in Italy) and a number of *German Princes.*

WARS IN CENTRAL AND WESTERN EUROPE — *Continued.*

Campaigns.—1. Invasion of *Saxony* and *Bohemia* by Frederic II. soon driven back to Saxony and Silesia.

2. Invasion of *Netherlands* by the French, 1744–45. (*Marshal Saxe*).

3. Frederic's campaign in *Silesia*, *Bohemia* and *Saxony*, 1745.

4. Attempt of *Charles Edward*, the *Young Pretender*, to reconquer *Scotland and England* for his father (*James III.*), 1745–46.

5. Conquest of the *Netherlands* by Marshal Saxe.

6. In Italy the Austrians, on the whole, successful.

Victories of:

FONTENOY, 1745. Irish Brigade over Pragmatic army.

Hohenfriedberg (Silesia), Fred. II. over Austr. and Saxons.

Soor (Bohemia), Fred. II. over Austrians.

Kesselsdorf (Saxony), Leop. of Dessau over Saxons.

Preston Pans, 1745, Charles Edw. over the English.

Falkirk, 1745, Charles Edw. over the English

Culloden, 1746, Duke of Cumberland over Chas. Edw.

SEPARATE PEACE OF FUESSEN, 1745, between *Austria* and *Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria*, after the death of his father, Charles VII.

1. Austria restored her conquests.
2. The Elector renounced his Austrian and Imperial claims. Election of Emperor **FRANCIS I.**

PEACE OF DRESDEN, between *Prussia, Austria* and *Saxony*, 1745.

1. Maria Theresa guaranteed to Frederic II. the territory ceded in the *Peace of Breslau*.
2. Frederic acknowledged *Francis I.* as Emperor.

GENERAL PEACE OF AACHEN, 1748.

1. Mutual restoration of conquests.
2. Cession by Austria of *Parma*, *Piacenza* and *Guastalla* to *Don Philip*, second son of *Philip V.* and *Elisabeth Farnese* (Fourth Bourbon court, second secundo-geniture in Italy).
3. The *Pragmatic Sanction* in Austria, and the *Hanoverian Succession* in England guaranteed.

Unsettled:—1. The right of Spain to search English vessels.

2. The French and English boundary question in North America.

CHAPTER III.

MARIA THERESA AND FREDERIC II. — WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.

§ 1.

FIRST SILESIAN WAR, 1740–42.

43. Youth of Frederic II. — The deaths of Frederic William of Prussia and of the Emperor Charles VI. in 1740, gave rise to new constellations which plunged not only Europe but the whole civilized world into a series of sanguinary wars.

Frederic William of Prussia had been a passionate, coarse and despotic character, a narrow Calvinist, harsh and even brutal to his family, but frugal, simple and moral in his private life. The tyrannical rule of the father estranged his son Frederic, who tried to escape from a galling subjection by flight. Being arrested he and officer Katte, the companion of his flight, were peremptorily court-martialed and sentenced to death. Katte was executed before the prison window of the crown prince. Frederic was saved from a like fate only by the interposition of Charles VI.'s imperial authority. Henceforth Frederic complied with every wish of his father, with all the pliancy and dissimulation of a slave, even so far as to marry an unfortunate princess of Brunswick, chosen for him by his father, but whom he utterly despised. In his new establishments at Rheinsberg and Ruppin, he corresponded with Voltaire, the French freethinker, cultivated literature and art, and studied statesmanship in all its branches. His father left him a well-filled treasury and a splendid army of 84,000 men.

44. Character of Frederic II. — Frederic was a man of extraordinary mental resources, his intellect shrewd and calculating, his judgment rapid and clear. He was bold in danger, strong in adversity, indefatigable in the detail work of civil and military organization. He intensely loved power and money, but despised their pomp and display. Hard, selfish and cynical, entirely void of any religious principles or moral scruple he was in political dealings callous to every sentiment of generosity or honor. In his internal government he introduced many beneficial measures. The very first days of his reign he granted general toleration, and abolished trial by torture. His rule was based on the maxim: all for the people; nothing through the people.

45. Maria Theresa, 1740-1780. — With the death of Charles VI., 1740, the male line of the Hapsburgs became extinct. Maria Theresa as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia and Archduchess of Austria succeeded her father in the government of the Austrian monarchy. In the beginning of her reign no visible opposition was raised against her succession, except by the protest of Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria.

To breadth of intellect and firmness of purpose and to royal loftiness of thought and action the young queen added great accomplishments and personal charms. Her character was earnest, generous, chivalrous. She had at heart the good of her people. The principles of the Catholic faith were the mainspr ngs of her private life, but she was frequently deceived by Kaunitz and other advisers as to the real interests of the church. The centralization of power in Church and State which characterized the reign of her son Joseph II. began in the latter part of her own reign. Her court was the most virtuous of Europe. Whilst in the main she kept the reins of government in her own hands, she associated her husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, as co-regent with herself.

46. The Opponents of Maria Theresa. — Charles Albert grounded his protest on his descent from Anne, the oldest daughter of Emperor Ferdinand I. He claimed that Ferdinand had willed the Austrian possessions to Anne's descendants, in case the male issue of her brother should fail. The court of Vienna refuted this claim by exhibiting the original document which read: in case the legitimate descendants of her brother should fail. Augustus III., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, claimed the succession in the name of his wife, the eldest daughter of Joseph I. The Kings of Spain and Sardinia put in claims as descendants of Philip II. Elizabeth Farnese, the Queen of Spain, who had obtained the two Sicilies for her son Don Carlos, now wanted to obtain an equal portion in northern Italy for her second son, Don Philip. All these powers, except Charles Albert, had recognized the Pragmatic Sanction.

47. Invasion of Silesia. — Frederic II. acted in his own characteristic way. The very day on which the death of Charles VI. was announced at Berlin, he confided to his minister his intention of annexing Silesia, whilst with the same breath he warmly protested his friendship to the young queen and her prince-consort. Publicly he recognized her royal title, but not until he had matured his plans for the actual invasion of her territory. Rights to Silesia he had none. Some shady claims to Liegnitz and Jägerndorf were raised to satisfy public opinion. He himself based his claims on "his ready army and his well-filled exchequer."

Without any declaration of war or intimation of his design, at a time when the province was enjoying perfect peace and was unpre-

pared for defense, Frederic crossed the frontier of Silesia at the head of 30,000 men, December, 1740. Then and not till then he offered Maria Theresa his aid in defense of her throne, if she would cede to him Lower Silesia. The offer, of course, was rejected. Thereupon the whole province was overrun by Prussian soldiers, and Breslau, the capital of Silesia, and other places were taken. In April, 1741, Marshall Schwerin won the battle of Mollwitz for the King of Prussia, after Frederic himself and his division had fled from the field.

48. Secret Alliance of Nymphenburg. — The battle of Mollwitz encouraged the greedy opponents of Maria Theresa to come forward. Foremost of all was Fleury, minister of France. Setting at naught the solemn engagements of the Peace of Vienna he pledged himself, in a secret entente with Prussia which was to last for fourteen years, to guarantee to Frederic the possession of Silesia, and to invade Germany with an army of 40,000 men. In return Frederic was to cast his electoral vote for Charles Albert, the imperial candidate of France. Bavaria, Saxony and Spain joined the convention at Nymphenburg near Munich. Austria was thus to lose the imperial dignity for the first time since Albrecht II.

Fleury was driven into the Prussian Alliance by the clamor of the young and dissipated nobles who panted for a chance of winning glory and emoluments in a war against Austria, France's hereditary rival. They found a spokesman in the Count of Belleisle at a time when, under the sway of mistresses, Louis XV. began to emancipate himself openly from his duties to God, to his family, and to public morality. Belleisle was made embassador to Germany and Marshal of France. On his way to Frankfort he bribed the spiritual electors to vote for Charles Albert.

49. The Fall of Prague and the Imperial Election. — The Prussians now advanced into Moravia. The allied French and Bavarian armies invaded Upper Austria, took Linz, where Charles Albert was proclaimed Archduke of Austria, menaced Vienna, but turned off into Bohemia. Marshal de Saxe, half-brother to Augustus III., but in the service of France, surprised Prague by a stroke of adventurous boldness, and before the end of the year Charles Albert was crowned King of Bohemia. The capture of Prague decided the imperial election at Frankfort. It threw out the

vote of Bohemia. The rest of the votes were cast for the Elector of Bavaria. Seeing Hanover threatened on one side by a French, on the other by a Prussian army, George II. had promised his vote for the French candidate upon a guarantee of neutrality for Hanover. Charles Albert assumed the title of Charles VII., 1742–1745.

50. **Maria Theresa in Hungary.** — Meanwhile Maria Theresa in her dire straits had gone to Pressburg in Hungary. By his mild rule her father had succeeded in gaining the confidence of that people. In a dignified Latin speech she depicted the dangers threatening her person and her children, and showed the confidence which she placed in the Hungarians, by authorizing, against the advice of her counsellors, a so-called insurrection, or general arming of the nation, whereupon she was greeted with the exclamation: vitam et sanguinem consecramus. A levy of 30,000 infantry was voted at once; the nobles bound themselves to serve in the cavalry. With the levies of Croatia, Transilvania and the Banat of Temeswar, it was estimated that little less than 100,000 men might be raised. Maria Theresa then granted a number of concessions which were a compromise between the strict royal claims and the extreme demands of the nationalists, and which for more than a century formed the charter of the Hungarian Kingdom.

51. Austrian Victories, 1741–42. — The levy of the Hungarians and the fall of Walpole completely changed the desperate position of Maria Theresa. Walpole was forced to retire before a hostile Parliamentary majority. They charged him with betraying the interests of Maria Theresa, for whose succession England stood pledged, and with conniving at the vote cast by George II. at Frankfort. Lord Carteret, the new minister of foreign affairs, at once placed a large parliamentary subsidy and 12,000 men at the Queen's disposal. A secret truce arranged between Frederic II. and Maria Theresa as a preliminary for peace, enabled the Austrians to attack the rest of the allies in two brilliant campaigns. The Duke of Lorraine recovered the greater part of Bohemia and hemmed in the French within the walls of Prague. Marshal Khevenhüller entered Upper Austria, seized Linz on the very day when Charles VII. was elected, and compelled the French army to surrender. He then overran Bavaria and entered Munich in triumph on the coronation day of the now landless Emperor.

52. The Peace of Breslau and Berlin, 1742. — Awaiting the course of events before deciding which of the Powers to betray,

Frederic now offered a separate peace to Maria Theresa on the condition of retaining Silesia. Maria Theresa was willing to cede an equivalent but not Silesia. Thereupon the Prussian monarch broke the truce and with unexpected rapidity attacked and defeated Prince Charles of Lorraine, the brother of Francis Stephen, in the hotly contested battle at Czaslau-Chotusitz, 1742. But instead of pursuing the enemy and relieving Prague, he renewed his offers of peace, which were now accepted. The peace was concluded at Breslau in June, and signed at Berlin in July, 1742. Austria yielded to Prussia Lower and the greater part of Upper Silesia and the Bohemian county of Glatz. Prussia on her part withdrew her troops without making the slightest provision for the safe retreat of the allies, assumed the payment of the debt raised on the Silesian revenues, and acknowledged the Pragmatic Sanction. The Elector of Saxony acceded to the peace and recalled his troops from the field.

53 **Retreat of the French.** — Beleaguered in Prague and deserted by Frederic, Belleisle eluded the Austrians by a masterly move. On a dark winter night he left Prague with the main army, and after a desperate twelve days' march over snow and ice through the enemy's country he reached Eger, where an "army of redemption" waited for him. The garrison of 6,000 men remaining at Prague was allowed to capitulate with all the honors of war. Of Belleisle's original 40,000 men, only 8,000 were left when he recrossed the Rhine. In May, 1743, Maria Theresa was crowned Queen of Bohemia. She concluded an alliance with the Elector of Saxony and the King of Sardinia. Bavaria, temporarily reoccupied by Charles VII., once more passed into the possession of Austria, whilst the Emperor was little more than a fugitive at Frankfort.

54. England and the War — The Battle of Dettingen. — Under the auspices of England a new confederate army of 44,000 men, the so-called Pragmatic Army, headed by the Earl of Stair, had been formed in Flanders for the campaign in 1743. It was composed chiefly of English and Hanoverian troops with some Austrian, Dutch and Hessian auxiliaries. Whilst encamped in the neighborhood of Frankfort, it was surrounded by a superior French army under Noailles. But the gross blundering of the French leaders, and the bravery of the allies enabled the latter to extricate themselves from their dangerous situation. George II., the last English

King to take part in a battle, fought with due valor. The victory of Dettingen led to no result beyond the seizure of a few fortresses.

This inefficiency of the Pragmatic army was caused by the many divisions among the allies and especially by the bitter jealousy and deadly hatred between the English and the Hanoverian troops. These sentiments of the soldiers were but an echo of the public feeling in England which protested against the subordination of English to Hanoverian interests. This popular resentment was fanned, no doubt, by scheming politicians, but it is also true that the King unduly favored his own countrymen, and diverted England's resources to the interests of Hanover. The consequence was, that Carteret, the English representative of the King's "German policy," had to resign office and give way to the Pelhams. Carteret was created Lord Granville.

Ritter v. Arneth: *Maria Theresa* (10 vol. chief authority for the period). — M. Theresa: Hewitt (*Ill. Women*); Jameson (*Celebrated Fem. Sovereigns*); Jenkins (*Heroines of Hist.*). — Broglie: *Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa.* — *Lives of Frederic II:* Brackenburg; Lord Dover; Morris (*Great Cammanders*); Onno Klopp (Germ.); Raumer: *Fred. II. and His Times.* — *Hist. of My Own Time; Posthumous Works, Correspondence* by Frederic himself. Broglie: *Louis XV.* (*The King's Secret, etc.*). *Youth of Fr. II.* E. R. '59, 4. — Cardwell: *Fred. II:* M. '77, 2. — E. R. 42, 2.

§ 2.

SECOND SILESIAN WAR.

1744–45 (48).

55. Beginning of the War in the West. — Heretofore France and England had been engaged in the war only as auxiliaries. With the death of Fleury the war party got the upper hand, and France formally declared war against England and Austria; 80,000 men under Marshal Saxe, accompanied by the King, invaded the Netherlands and conquered a number of Austrian fortresses. Meanwhile Maria Theresa was not idle. She thirsted for the opportunity to reconquer the provinces Austria had lost in the treaties of Utrecht and Vienna, and her generals, Charles of Lorraine and Marshal Traun, had already crossed the Rhine, secured a foothold in Alsace, and were advancing upon Lorraine, when a new enemy appeared in the field. Frederic II. grew alarmed at the victorious progress of the Austrian arms on the Rhine and began to fear for Silesia, though Maria Theresa scrupulously avoided any act of hostility against Prussia. Accordingly Frederic again allied himself with the two Powers whom he had betrayed in the Peace of Breslau, with the Emperor and a few other

German princes and with France. He did not declare war, but notified the court of Vienna that he was acting on behalf of the Emperor and Empire.

56. The War in the East. — Early in September, 1744, at the head of 80,000 men of "Imperial Reinforcements" Frederic pushed his way through Saxony, invaded Bohemia and took Prague. From Prague he made for Vienna. Again the Hungarians responded to the Queen's appeal with enthusiastic loyalty. Frederic was completely out-manoeuvered by the two armies which had hastened to Bohemia: the Hungarians who met with the hearty support of the whole population, and the Austrians who under the splendid leadership of Marshal Traun had just effected a masterly retreat from the Rhine in the face of a superior French army. Without risking a battle, Traun forced Frederic to evacuate Prague and to retire with great hardship and loss into Silesia, as the Saxons had cut off his retreat through their own country. Frederic henceforth regarded Traun as his teacher in the art of war. The gainers, however, at the end of 1744, were France and the Emperor. Alsace was freed of the invaders, Marshal Saxe maintained his position in the Netherlands, and Charles VII. had in the meantime reconquered the greater part of Bavaria.

57. Death of Charles VII. — Francis I., 1745–1765. — Frederic's position became still more critical by the death of Charles VII., for it removed the pretense on which he had commenced the war. Maria Theresa, however, refused to listen to his offers of peace. Shortly before the Emperor's death Augustus III. had joined the league of Austria, England and Holland. Bavaria now sued for peace. By the treaty of Füssen the young Elector, Maximilian Joseph, abandoned his pretensions to the Austrian succession, and pledged his electoral vote to the husband of Maria Theresa, who restored to him all his hereditary dominions. In Sept. the imperial dignity again reverted to the House of Austria in the person of Francis Stephen. He was elected as Francis I. by seven out of the nine electoral votes, Frederic II. and the Palatine Elector, his ally, voting in the negative. Maria Theresa was henceforth styled Empress-Queen.

58. **The Battle of Fontenoy, 1745.** — In the Netherlands English, Hanoverian and Dutch troops with some Austrian auxiliaries, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, the second son of George II., stood opposed to 80,000 men under Marshal Saxe.

The decisive battle of the year was fought at Fontenoy. The allies under Cumberland were marching to the relief of Tournay. Marshal Saxe turned from the siege to meet him. The Dutch gave way early in the struggle. But the English and Hanoverians forming a solid column of 16,000 men carried everything before them. The battle was all but lost for Louis, when Marshal Saxe ordered the Irish Brigade, supported by four cannon and Louis' household troops, to the front. The Irish Brigade consisted of several regiments of Irish Catholics whom the violation of the Treaty of Limerick and the Penal Laws had driven into French service. With the cry: "Remember Limerick and Saxon treachery" they dashed forward, and by their gallant charge decided the day. The British column was completely broken up and scattered, and victory perched on the banners of France. The next result was the fall of Tournay and of seven other fortresses in the Austrian Netherlands.

Upon hearing of the bravery of the Irish, King George is said to have exclaimed: "Cursed be the law that deprives me of such subjects."

59. The Peace of Dresden, 1745. — Undismayed by his reverses Frederic II. continued the contest single-handed, defeated the Austrians and Saxons under Prince Charles at Hohenfriedberg in Silesia, and followed the retreating armies into Bohemia. England strongly urged Maria Theresa to make peace. But failing in this, England separately settled preliminaries with Frederic guaranteeing him the possession of Silesia. Between Austria and Prussia the war went on, and a fresh victory at Sohr in Bohemia won by Frederic's genius over the stronger army of Prince Charles (Sept.) and another sanguinary success obtained by Leopold of Dessau over the Saxons at Kesselsdorf in Saxony (Dec.) led to the desired Peace of Dresden. Maria Theresa guaranteed to Frederic the territorial possessions accorded to him in the Peace of Breslau, whilst Frederic acknowledged the disputed vote of Bohemia and recognized Francis I. as Emperor.

60. Charles Edward in Scotland, 1745–46. — Charles Edward, James III.'s son, styled Prince of Wales by the Jacobites, the Young Pretender by the Hanoverians, landed in the western Highlands, July, 1745, with only seven followers. In August he raised the royal standard at Glenfinnan at the head of 1,600 men, proclaimed his father as James VIII. of Scotland and James III. of England, and marched straight to Edinburgh where he was royally welcomed. With 2,500 Highlanders he stampeded in seven minutes the English forces under Sir John Cope at Preston Pans. With 6,000 men he crossed the border, took Carlisle, and without rousing either great sympathy or serious opposition marched as far as Derby, where a stronger English army awaited him. The Prince was for boldly marching upon London, but could not prevail on the chiefs to follow, and had to turn back. At Falkirk he scattered another English troop, but was then forced to encounter the Duke of Cumberland, who had been recalled from the Netherlands, and who had now entered Scotland at the head of 8,000 men trained in the continental war. The decisive battle was fought at Culloden, the last battle on Scotch territory. The first line of the enemy was broken by the vigorous charge of the Highlanders, but the second stood firm and overwhelmed the Scots by their superior numbers and training. By slaughtering or burning to death the wounded Higlanders, Cumberland has deservedly earned and retained the nickname of "The Butcher." Charles Edward was a fugitive. He owed his life to the courage and touching fidelity of the Highlanders. Though hundreds knew of his hiding-places, though £30,000 were set on his head, yet not one was found to betray his fallen chief, and after many hair-breadth escapes he again reached the shores of France. As the Scotch Episcopalians were Jacobites, English legislation in 1746 and later, though opposed by the bishops, nearly crushed out the Episcopalian system in Scotland, and unfrocked most of the Episcopalian clergy.

The Stuarts withdrew. James III. died 1765, his son 1788. His brother, Cardinal Henry, who died in 1807, was the last Stuart of the male line. The female line, descending from Henrietta, the youngest daughter of Charles I., was continued in the Dukes of Savoy and Kings of Sardinia and Italy.

61. End of the Succession War. — In Italy, where the King of Sardinia fought on the side of Austria, and Spain on the side of France, the war had been waged with varying fortune, until 1746 Austria recovered almost everything she had lost in the preceding years, and completely defeated the Franco-Spanish army at Piacenza.

In the Netherlands success was uniformly on the side of France. They not only held all the Austrian Netherlands but conquered a considerable portion of the Dutch Republic. On the other hand, after the death of Philip V., 1746, France was practically deserted by his successor, Ferdinand II., while some of her American and Indian possessions were taken, others threatened, and her navy almost destroyed by the English fleets. As Austria and Sardinia were the only powers that desired to continue the war, they were offered the alternative by the other allies of either joining the preliminaries drawn up at Aachen or fighting alone.

62. The Peace of Aachen, 1748. — The Peace of Aachen which ended the war of the Austrian succession was concluded on the basis of a mutual restoration of all conquests made in Europe and beyond the seas. The only exception was the cession by Austria of the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla to Don Philip, second son of Elizabeth of Spain. Thus the second secundo-geniture of the Spanish Bourbons was established in Italy, and the fourth Bourbon court in Europe. Austria confirmed the cession of Silesia to Frederic II. and obtained the recognition of the imperial election and of the Pragmatic Sanction. The succession of the House of Hanover, both in England and in Hanover, was guaranteed. Two points which contained the germs of a future war were left undecided: The right claimed by Spain of searching English vessels, which had originally led to the naval war between the two powers, and the disputed boundaries between the French and the English possessions in North America. It is therefore time to turn our attention to the American colonies.

Lecky, I, 3, 415-470. — Lord Mahon; Coxe; Morris; Martin; Duruy (see prev. chap.). — Guizot: *Pop. Hist. of France.* — Wilson: *Marshal Saxe* (Ill. Soldiers). — Chambers: *Hist. of the Rebell of 1745.* — Chev. de Johnstone: *Memoirs of the Reb. of 1745.* — Jesse: *Memoirs of the Pretenders.* — A. Shield: *The Cardinal of York* (the last Stuarts). D. R. '96, 3.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA.

§ 1.

FOUNDATION OF THE COLONIES.

63. North America. — At the time of colonization there may have been some 200,000 or 300,000 Indians scattered over the vast expanse of the North American continent. Mexico and Florida were Spanish possessions. The Atlantic seaboard from Florida to Canada was settled by the English with a sprinkling of colonists from Holland, Sweden and other European countries. French settlers occupied the country north of the English colonies, the St. Lawrence valley, sending out spurs of Catholic missions and commercial posts along the great lakes and the water-course of the Mississippi, all subject to France. In the Spanish and English colonies a strong negro population was living in servitude.

64. Florida. — Ponce de Leon, a companion of Columbus, discovered Florida in 1512 for Spain. The name Florida then signified not only the peninsula but the country stretching northward and eastward to an indefinite extent. For a time Huguenot settlers, sent out by Admiral Coligny, disputed a portion of Florida, but after a sanguinary struggle, disgraceful for both parties, the Spaniards finally maintained their ground and founded St. Augustine, the oldest town in the United States, 1565.

In 1696 Pensacola, founded by Spaniards from Mexico, became the border town of Western Florida.

65. New France. — Pier de Gast, Sieur de Monts, effected the first permanent settlement for France at Port Royal in Acadia, 1604. Acadia originally comprised all the country from Pennsylvania to New Brunswick. In course of time the term Acadia was restricted

to what is now Nova Scotia; the valley of the St. Lawrence became known as Canada and the French possessions in America as New France. A colony sent out by de Monts under Champlain founded Quebec, 1608. Following earlier Recollect (Franciscan) missionaries, the Jesuits undertook in 1632 the conversion of the Hurons, the Abnakis, the Chippewas and other northern tribes, and founded at Quebec a flourishing center for far-stretching missions. Among the savage and warlike Iroquois they had at first little success. Martyrdom, accompanied by all the excesses of Indian cruelty, frequently ended a life of constant hardship. Martyrs, like FF. Brebeuf, Lallemant, Jogues, Bressani, Daniel, Garnier, inspired increasing numbers of their brethren to follow in their footsteps. When in 1679 the Huron missions were destroyed by the Mohawks, the hereditary foes of the Hurons, the missionaries followed the fugitives along the great lakes, and carried the gospel and the French name to what are now Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin. Father Marquette discovered the Mississippi in 1673, and floated down the great river a distance of over 1,000 miles. Cavalier de la Salle in 1682 descended the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and named the vast territories along the river Louisiana, in honor of Louis XIV. From the south the Canadian, d'Iberville, entered the river at the mouth and began to settle what are now the States of Mississippi and Alabama. New Orleans was founded by Law's famous Louisiana Company in 1718. Yet in all their settlements the number of French was in no period more than one-tenth of the population that occupied the English colonies. Unlike their English neighbors they cared little for agriculture, if we except the simple Norman peasants of Acadia; the adventurous Frenchmen preferred to be hunters, trappers, travelers or explorers.

66. English Colonies — Southern Group. — The thirteen English colonies on the Atlantic coast may be divided into three groups: the southern group centering in Virginia, the northern group centering in Massachusetts, and the middle group with New York for its center. The southern group comprises besides Virginia, Maryland, the two Carolinas and Georgia, all carved out of the original territory of Virginia.

67. Virginia. — Virginia received its name from Walter Raleigh, who made an unsuccessful attempt at colonization, in honor of Queen Elizabeth. The first permanent settlement of Virginia was effected at Jamestown, 1607, by a colony of English gentlemen and criminals sent out by the London Company. Saved from being hopelessly scattered at the very start by Captain John Smith, "the Father of Virginia," the struggling colony went through all the stages of disappointment, misery, discouragement, anarchy, martial law and despotism (under Argall), until with the arrival of Sir George Yeardley, the "House of Burgesses," the first representative body in America, was organized in 1619. In 1624, when the London Company was dissolved, Virginia became a royal province and remained so, with a short interruption, until the War of Independence. Virginia became the most populous as well as the richest of the English colonies. Tobacco, cultivated by negro and white slaves, was both the staple and the currency of Virginia.

68. Maryland. — Under a charter of 1632, a portion of the Virginia territory was transferred to George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore. Sir George had resigned the secretaryship of State to embrace the Catholic faith, when Catholicity was bitterly opposed in England. Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, now Proprietary Governor, intrusted the execution of the charter to his younger brother, Leonard Calvert, and named the colony Maryland in honor of Queen Maria Henrietta. The chief object of the colony was to provide an asylum for the persecuted Catholics of England. John Leonard Calvert and some two or three hundred colonists, mostly Catholic gentlemen, with their dependents, accompanied by Father White and three other Jesuits, arrived on two vessels, the Ark and the Dove. They sailed up the Potomac, planted the cross in the heart of America, and paying the Indians for the land, they founded the town of St. Mary's. The rapidly increasing prosperity of the colony was due (a) to the religious guidance by which the settlers profited from the beginning, (b) to the mutual acts of kindness and charity exchanged between the settlers and the Indians, (c) to the religious toleration granted by the Catholic government and enacted as law by the colonial legislature. The conversion of the Indians progressed rapidly. Maryland had never any serious Indian troubles within her frontiers. A boundary dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania was settled by the establishment of "Mason and Dixon's Line" drawn by two surveyors according to an agreement between the Maryland proprietor and Penn's heirs in 1732.

69 The Carolinas. — Carolina was another parcel of the Virginia grant. A charter was issued by Charles II. in 1663 to seven proprietors of whom the most prominent were the Lords Clarendon and Albemarle (Hyde and Monk). The Grand Model, the most absurd constitution ever devised for a new colony, was drawn up by the freethinkers Shaftesbury and Locke. The settlers began their political life by dividing the one province of Carolina

into two governments, and by overthrowing the Grand Model. The only provision retained was the clause that every freeman should have absolute power over his negro slaves. Turbulence, lawlessness and a double slave trade, one of importation from Africa, the other of exportation to the West Indies, were the characteristics of these colonies.

70. **Georgia.** — Georgia was carved out of Carolina as Carolina was carved out of Virginia. James Oglethorpe, an English philanthropist, for a time a volunteer in the army of Prince Eugene, established Georgia under a charter of George II. and chose the site of Savannah for his capital. Insolvent debtors from England, Moravians and Lutherans from Germany, Scottish Highlanders, the needy and the persecuted of many countries sought a home here. Oglethorpe absolutely excluded slavery from his colony.

71. The Northern or New England Group. — The northern group comprises Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island. The name of New England was given to this territory by John Smith of Virginia in an unsuccessful attempt at colonization, 1615. In 1620 James I. incorporated forty of his subjects as "the Council established at Plymouth in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England." The territorial grant extended from 40° to 48° N. L. and from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

72. **Plymouth.** — The first permanent settlement was founded by 102 Puritan Separatists or Independents, who had first emigrated from England to Holland, where they were known as the "Pilgrims." They sailed to New England on the Mayflower and landed at Cape Cod. After the necessary explorations the nineteen families of the Mayflower settled at Plymouth, 1620. Plymouth increased but slowly, and as a separate colony never prospered. It was absorbed by Massachusetts in 1692.

73. **Massachusetts.** — Other English Puritans led by John Endicott, founded Salem, 1628, and obtained from Charles I. the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, by which the government was transferred to America and vested in the colonists. Upon the arrival of John Winthrop with 1,500 settlers and the Massachusetts Charter, Boston and a number of other towns were founded, 1630. The colony prospered rapidly and soon became the most influential and the most domineering of the New England Colonies.

74. **Maine and New Hampshire.** — In 1622 a portion of the domain of New England was carved out as the province of Maine and granted to Fernando Gorges and John Mason. In 1629 the two colonizers divided the

province, and Mason called his part New Hampshire. Both Maine and New Hampshire were at times united with Massachusetts, and again returned to the proprietary government of Gorges and Mason or their heirs.

75. **Connecticut.** — The first settlement on the Connecticut river was the military post of some Plymouth men at Windsor on territory also claimed by the Dutch. Saybrooke, at the mouth of the Connecticut, was founded by Massachusetts' emigrants under a charter granted by the Council for New England to Viscount Say and Seal and Lord Brooke, 1635. The same year the Council surrendered its charter to the crown. At once a strong immigration of Massachusetts people who looked with disfavor on the theocratic policy of the Bay Colony, settled in and around Hartford, Wetherfield and Windsor, and established the separate colony or commonwealth of Connecticut, 1636–37. In 1638 the three towns drew up the first American constitution independently of King, Parliament, Charter or mother colony.

Another independent colony, New Haven, was founded in 1638 by a company of London traders. The only title which they had to their land, was that of a fictitious purchase (nine coats for many miles of land) from the Indians. They formed the first and only known government by a mere social contract signed by every member of the commonwealth, a century before Rousseau elaborated his system of the Social Contract. Saybrooke was merged in the colony of Connecticut in 1644, New Haven in 1665.

76. **Rhode Island.** — Rhode Island was founded by Roger Williams, a young preacher of Salem, a champion of freedom of conscience for all except Catholics, and a talker for the rights of the Indians. His denunciations, that the magistrates had no power in religion, that the King had no right to take away their lands from the Indians without paying for them, that the English charters were of doubtful legality, turned the Massachusetts authorities into his enemies. Like many others, he was prosecuted and banished for his opinions. In 1636 he founded Providence Plantation in the territory of the Narragansetts from whom he purchased the land. Another party of exiles from Massachusetts bought the Island of Aquiday from the Narragansetts, and called it Rhode Island. In 1647 the four towns of Providence and Rhode Island united under a royal charter, and established a purely democratic government without any state religion. Rhode Island had to contend with the hostility both of the Dutch Colony and of Massachusetts. The United Colonies of New England, the first union of American colonies (1643–66) comprising Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, formed for the purpose of defense against the Dutch and the Indians, was also hostile to Rhode Island.

77. **The Middle Group.** — The middle group of colonies, comprising New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania, was

originally settled by the Dutch and the Swedes, and with the exception of Pennsylvania, came to England by conquest.

78. **New York and New Jersey.** — After the discovery of the Delaware Bay and the Hudson river, 1609, by Henry Hudson, an Englishman in Dutch service, the lively fur trade springing up between Holland and the natives, led to the erection of some trading posts and military forts, and the exploration of the Connecticut, New Jersey and Delaware shores. The whole region claimed by the Dutch was called New Netherlands, and ruled by governors on behalf of the Dutch West India Company, established 1621. The claims of the Dutch gave rise to frequent conflicts with the English on the Connecticut and the Swedes on the Delaware. Peter Minuit, the first of the four Dutch governors, founded New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island, 1626. Further up the river was Fort Orange, the second place of importance. The success of the colony was due to its favorable situation on one of the best harbors of the world, to the influx of settlers from every quarter, as the colony was soon thrown open to free immigration, to religious toleration in the absence of wrangling parsons, and to the treaty of peace concluded with the Five Nations, the most powerful Indian confederacy of the Iroquois. When the New Netherlands were conquered by the English and New Amsterdam became New York, New Jersey received its present name and was granted by the Duke of York to Lords Berkeley and Carteret. Under William III. New Jersey became a royal province. Thomas Dongan, governor of New York, "a man of integrity, moderation and genteel manners," but "a professed papist," called the first assembly of New York, 1683, settled finally the boundary dispute between New York and Connecticut, and gave a city charter to New York, which was one of the most liberal ever bestowed upon a colonial city. The Dongan charter was, till lately, the fundamental law of the city of New York.

79. **Delaware.** — In 1638, when Sweden was ruled by Queen Christina, a colony of Swedes made its appearance on the Delaware Bay and founded Christiana. The settlement prospering for a time, extended into what later became Pennsylvania, and was called New Sweden. Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch governor, annexed New Sweden to the New Netherlands. With the fall of the Dutch possessions Delaware passed under English rule.

80. **Pennsylvania.** — In 1681 Charles II. granted William Penn, the son of Admiral Penn and the leader of the English Quakers, a large tract west of the Delaware, 26,000,000 acres of the best land in the world, in exchange for a debt due to his father, and called it Pennsylvania. The Duke of York subsequently added Delaware to the grant. In 1682 Penn founded Philadelphia and concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with the Indians. The richness of the soil, Penn's peaceful, just and beneficent disposition, and the religious toleration and political franchise which he granted to

all who believed in God and abstained from work on Sunday, made the settlement successful from the beginning. During Penn's absence from America, Delaware was granted a separate assembly. The Quaker's friendship for James II. brought upon him the persecution of William and Mary and the forfeiture of his charter, which was, however, restored, when he had proved his innocence of treason.

Charlevoix-Shea: *Hist. of New France.* — Parkman: *Pioneers of France; La Salle and Discovery of the Great West.* — M. Lummis: *Spanish Pioneers.* — *Histories of the U. S.* (see Ch. IX.). — Winsor: *Narrative and Critical Hist. of the U. S.* — Doyle: *English Colonies; Puritan Col.* — Lodge: *Engl. Colonies.* — J. Fiske: *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors; The Beginnings of New England.* — Treacy: *Old Cath. Maryland.* — Scharf: *Hist. of Maryland.* — *The French in North America;* E. R. '85, 3. — Martin: *Life of F. Isaac Jogues.* — Maryland: *Macleod,* M. '78, 2.; J. G. Shea, A. C. Q., 9. 10.

§ 2.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE COLONIES.

81. Population. — The free immigrants during colonial times were, as a rule, men of strong character who had abandoned their country for religious or political convictions. They were nearly all agriculturists and freeholders, thinly scattered over a large territory. Another class of immigrants were the white slaves. Such were the cargoes of Irish Catholics who at frequent intervals since Cromwell's invasion were deported for no other crime than patriotism and religion — with atrocities scarcely inferior to those of the African slave trade. Such were the insurgents in the civil wars of England taken in the field and auctioned off to the colonies. In Virginia they were resold to the highest bidder. The Scotch and Irish coasts were lurking-places of pirates, who kidnaped unwary inhabitants and sold them to American planters. In the early days of Virginia women were sold as wives for 100–150 pounds of tobacco. Besides the honest and the persecuted, the refuse of Europe also found its way to America. The government deported criminals, debtors, "jail-birds;" the Mayor of London sent over homeless children picked up from the streets of the city. After serving out their terms of forced labor, from five to seven years and upward, the "indented servants" acquired the rights of freemen and, in Virginia, the share allotted to all immigrants — fifty acres of land, but in the outskirts of the cultivated country.

82. Government. — In general the English legislators of the seventeenth century conceded to the colonies charters which secured to them almost absolute self-government. In the Proprietary Colonies and in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Carolina, Delaware, etc., the proprietors appointed the governors, and since 1696 authorized them to summon legislative assemblies. In the Crown Colonies, the governors, the councils and the judges were appointed by the crown, but the assembly was a representative body elected by the colonies.

The home government in the New England colonies was more or less Democratic. The "towns" were a reproduction of the Anglo-Saxon townships. Their resident inhabitants or freemen constituted the electoral body, the Anglo-Saxon "town moot" which admitted new members, chose all local town officers, regulated all local taxation, and sent deputies to the General Courts, as the representative bodies were called in New England. The towns were responsible for their own roads, bridges, police, poor relief and education. They had their grand and petty juries, their militia regiments, their train-bands and even their whipping-posts and stocks as in England under the rule of Cromwell. Thus all the political power in New England was concentrated in the town; the county was only a geographical and later a judicial designation. The southern colonies were aristocratic in their government. The important political unit was the county, invested with all the political powers which in New England resided in the town. The county was responsible to the colonial legislature for its share of taxation. The townships were laid out by the officers of the county; they had, however, the right of electing their own officers, and of determining, in the township meeting, the amount of taxes to be raised for local purposes. The township submitted an estimate of the sums required to the county authorities for approval, and were subject to county supervision in the exercise of their local rights.

83. Special Forms of Government. — In Massachusetts the government was theocratic. All the freemen enjoyed the franchise only under a religious test of narrow Puritanism, so that not one fourth of the adult males were entitled to vote. Thus instead of a landed aristocracy, Massachusetts set up an ecclesiastical aristocracy. Rhode Island was a pure democracy, practically independent of King and Parliament, and without any State religion. Connecticut became notorious for its Blue Laws, regulating not only the opinions, but the minutest actions of the people. In New Haven the Mosaic Law was declared the fundamental law of the colony. New York and Pennsylvania in their political institutions ranged with the other colonies in an inverted order of geographical position: New York with the aristocratic South, Pennsylvania with the democratic North. In Virginia large landed estates were entailed upon the oldest male heir. Each planter claimed supremacy on his own estate. The rich planters formed an aristocracy, that controlled the selection of the local magistrates nominally appointed by the governor. The Grand Model of Carolina devised by Shaftesbury and Locke, was an attempt to transfer a feudal system of nobles, palatines, landgraves, starosts, caziques, leitmen, borrowed from the German, Polish, English, Anglo-Saxon and Indian systems, to the wild woods of the Western continent.

84. Political Changes. — The numerous disputes between the settlers and the proprietors, between the colonies and the home government, generally ended to the advantage of the crown. Again, the favors shown to

regicides of Charles I. in some New England colonies, the maintenance of religious proscription and the violation of the navigation acts led to the annulment of charters under Charles II., and to the appointment of irresponsible governors under James II. This King published the Declaration of Indulgence in the colonies and appointed one governor (Andros) for New England, New York and New Jersey. William III. renewed the charters in a form favorable to the crown, and granted religious toleration to all except Catholics. Since 1696 the government in England could reject a governor appointed by a proprietor and annul any colonial legislation conflicting with Acts of Parliament on the same subjects. Henceforth it became a fundamental maxim of the British Parliament, to maintain and increase its ascendency over all colonial authorities, and to restrict American commerce for the profit of the mother country.

85. The Church in the Colonies. — The colonies were the seats of the fiercest religious fanaticism, foremost the New England colonies. The religion of Virginia was intolerant and proscriptive Episcopalianism. The careful exclusion of Catholics was originally avowed as the special object of Virginia's colonization. In New England, especially Massachusetts, Church and State were most intimately blended. The General Courts exercised supreme control in spiritual as well as in temporal matters. Marriage was considered a mere civil contract, to be sanctioned by a magistrate. The magistrates, too, granted divorces. Baptism was limited as a privilege to church members. Furious contentions about doctrinal matters, condemnations of "heretical" opinions, banishments of "heretics," especially Baptists, the burning of witches, fill the annals of New England.

In 1688 a poor Irish woman was executed for witchcraft. In 1692 nineteen persons were hanged and one pressed to death for witchcraft at Salem; 150 were detained in prison and 200 more awaited their trials, before reason and remonstrance broke the fatal spell.

To bring a Quaker into a New England colony was punishable by a fine of £100. To entertain a Quaker for one hour, was fined with forty shillings. Quakers themselves, besides being whipped and forced to hard labor in a house of correction, were to lose their ears, to have their tongues bored with a red-hot iron, and on returning after deportation, to be executed. Since 1701 any Jesuit or Popish priest was liable, as an incendiary and disturber of the public peace, to perpetual imprisonment, and if an escape were attempted, to death.

86. Maryland. — Founded as an asylum for the persecuted Catholics of England, Maryland accorded perfect freedom to all Protestant sects, and welcomed alike the persecuted Puritans of Virginia and the persecuted Episcopalians of Massachusetts. With perfect impartiality the Protestants were granted all the privileges which were possessed by the Catholics. The law of 1649 enacted, that "no person within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be in any way troubled, molested or discounte-

nanced for his or her religion or in any free exercise thereof;" and by the Catholics at least, the promise of this law was never broken. A shameful sequel followed this almost solitary example of toleration. "The Protestants," says Mr. Lecky, "multiplied in the province. They outnumbered the Catholics and then enslaved them. The democratic opposition to Lord Baltimore assisted them, and the Revolution (of 1688) gave the signal for the complete destruction of religious liberty in Maryland. The Catholics were excluded from all prominent offices in the State which a Catholic had founded for Catholics." Anglicanism was made the established church in 1704. The Mass was forbidden. The priest and the Catholic tutor or leader were alike proscribed.

87. The Penal Laws. — Pennsylvania was the only other colony that granted honest toleration. The toleration law of Rhode Island expressly excluded Catholics. In 1734 the German Catholics were permitted to build a church in Philadelphia in which Mass was openly celebrated, the only instance of this kind previous to the War of Independence. Most of the Irish immigrants in those days were Presbyterians.

With the Revolution which placed William of Orange on the English throne, came the completion of that system of penal laws against Catholics which remained for a century and more the opprobrium of the colonial code.

See Works to § 1. — Lecky: II., 5. — J. G. Shea: *The Boston of Winthrop*, A. C. Q. 12. — *Blue Laws of Conn.:* A. C Q. 2. — *James II. and the U. S.:* A. C. Q. — Scudder: *Men and Manners One Hundred Years Ago.* — Lowell: *New England Two Centuries Ago.* — Lunt: *Old New England Traits.* — A. Morse: *Customs and Fashions in Old New England.* — Coffin: *Old Times in the Colonies.* — Ch. W. Upham: *Salem Witchcraft.* — Cf. Goerres: *Mystik*, v. 4, pp. 534-41. — Cotton Mather: *Remarkable Providences.*

§ 3.

TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS.

88. The Indians and Their Federations. — When the Europeans arrived in America, the Indians had settled abodes, towns and villages. Their chief occupations were hunting, fishing and war. South of the St. Lawrence the women cultivated the land to a limited extent, chiefly by raising maize or Indian corn.

To judge by their languages, the North American Indians formed large nations or confederacies of kindred tribes. Their different dialects are reduced to five general heads. The harsh Algonquin was spoken from the Hudson Bay southeast to the Chesapeake and southwest to the Mississippi and Ohio. Within the limits of the tribes of the Algonquin speech and almost surrounded by them, several powerful confederacies along the great lakes, such as the Hurons, the Iroquois, the Eries, spoke the softer Wyandot languages. The Cherokee is peculiar to a confederacy of the same name who

occupied the southern valleys of the Alleghanies. The common name of the Mobilian, rich in vowels and indicating the influence of the southern climate, included the dialects of the Choctaws, the Chickasas, the Creeks and other inhabitants of the lower Mississippi Valley and the Savannah. The Dacotah or Sioux is still spoken in many dialects by the tribes west of the Mississippi. Apart from these principal language groups there existed tribes in different parts of the continent that spoke in tongues peculiar to themselves.

89. **Government.** — The government was of the simplest. It comprised the tribal chieftainship and the tribal council. The chieftainship was usually hereditary. The chief was the guide rather than the ruler of his tribe or village, having neither guard, nor prisons, nor officers of justice. In the council all grown men had the right of speech. It decided on peace, war and alliances and had jurisdiction in criminal matters of national or tribal importance. Private crimes were either punished by private vengeance, or compromised between the parties concerned.

90. **Character.** — The North American Indians are grave and gloomy, cool and deliberate, respectful and attentive in council, hospitable to friends, implacable to enemies. They are trained from infancy to endure with stolid composure taunts and blows and every sort of ill treatment. But their passions once roused, they are sullen, treacherous, inappeasable, and unspeakably cruel, especially in torturing their captives. The introduction of ardent spirits has completely demoralized the Indian. On account of intemperance whole tribes have "died in their tracks."

91. **Religion.** — The Indians believe in the "Great Spirit," the immortality of the soul, and a future reward of the brave in the happy hunting grounds. They believe in a great number of subordinate spirits or manitous, that are either superior types of animal life (the manitou of the buffalo, the boar), or imaginary beings dwelling in the forests, rivers, mountains, in all nature (manitou of the Mississippi). They chiefly worship manitous that inspire fear. The manitou of war was worshiped with human sacrifices. The one Great Spirit ruling above all is too high for worship. Their priests, sorcerers or medicine men, are credited with knowing the secrets of nature and the meaning of dreams which play a great part in the gross superstitions of the Indians. Polygamy was not frequent though not dishonorable among them.

92. **The French and the Indians.** — As to the treatment of the Indians by the three principal European nations that occupied America, it may be broadly stated that the Spanish method was conversion and amalgamation with or without enslavement of the natives; the French method, conversion and amalgamation without enslavement; the English method extermination or enslavement without conversion or amalgamation. The French always recognized an immortal soul redeemed by Christ in the Indians. They

called them "brothers" and "children." Their missionaries sacrificed everything for the conversion of the red man and were largely successful. The French method of colonization and of dealing with the Indians did not necessarily involve exterminating warfare, or oppression and injury, or expulsion of the natives from their soil. Their objects were occupancy of a portion of the soil, small in comparison with the territory left to the Indians, peace, commerce and trade, and the christianizing of the natives. Their sway over the Indians, based on justice and mutual consent, was unquestioned, although the French never numbered more than one-tenth of the English population. Individual cases of aggression and violence undoubtedly occurred, especially in southern Louisiana, but they were foreign to the policy of the noble Champlain and his successors. The French and Indian wars with the Five Nations were provoked by the exterminating raids of the fierce Iroquois. "There is nothing similar," says a modern historian (M. Ludlow), "to the wholesale christianizing of the Indians in the Spanish colonies or to the vast network of French missions in Northern America, and to their widespreading influence over the natives."

93. Puritan Principles as to the Treatment of the Indians. — In the early colonial enterprises of the English, feeble and attended by disaster as they were, the Indians were invariably the supporters and benefactors of the white man. In every case the kindly actions of the savages were ill requited. The New England Puritans looked upon the natives as "a doomed race of Adam" under a curse, whose existence had no value even to the Indian himself. Although a number of very loose contracts were made with the Indians, in which valuable districts were bought for trinkets, wampum strings, tools, arms, kitchen utensils or small sums of money, yet the real principles upon which the settlers acted, were clearly expressed by Dr. Increase Mather: "That the heathen people, amongst whom we live, and whose lands the Lord God of our fathers has given to us for a rightful possession," etc. Cotton Mather calls Satan "the old landlord" of the Indian country. Governor Bradford writes of the colonies as "vast and unpeopled countries, which are fruitful and fit for habitation, being devoid of all civil inhabitants, where there are only savage and brutish men which range up and down little otherwise than the wild beasts of the same." The general opinion of the Puritans and Dutch Calvinists was, that the Indians were a part of the vermin and wild beasts such as wolves and wild cats, which the whites have a right to exterminate in order to render the territory habitable to civilized men. The few meagre attempts to convert the Indians to Puritanism were ridiculed and strenuously opposed by the mass of the settlers. Of course, the Indians themselves contributed their part to this antagonism. Their fierce retaliations, the night attacks, the tomahawk, the scalping knife, the massacre and the torture, used by them unsparingly when they had the upper hand, bred a savage spirit in the hearts of the magistrates, preachers and people, without one redeeming trait of pity. They forgot, that the

weight of condemnation for ruthless measures and unchristian wrongs must fall on the first aggressors, because they were the stronger and more intelligent party, and bound by their profession of Christianity to justice, mercy and righteousness.

94. Specimens of Indian Wars. — The early settlers of Virginia had been continuously indebted to the generosity of the natives for rescuing them from starvation. In return the English insulted and despoiled their benefactors and drove them into a conspiracy. Three massacres of white men resulted in a long war of extermination (from 1622), during which it was enacted by law that no terms of peace should be entertained with the natives. — In the war of the Dutch with the Indians wholesale massacres were attended by terror, devastation and barbarous tortures which rivaled in horror the savagery of the natives. — The Pequods in Connecticut had slain two Englishmen, one for killing an Indian chief. A body of eighty English and 100 Mohicans surprised the chief village of the Pequods, set it on fire, "formed a circle around the burning huts, and slew their enemies without mercy as the fire drove them into sight; 600 Pequods, men, women and children, perished in an hour while but two of the English were lost, of the rest of the tribe, 200 who surrendered, were sold into slavery, all the others hunted down and exterminated" (1637).—The Narragansetts came next. Miantonomo, their noble chief, had been falsely accused before the magistrates of Massachusetts of dark plots. Forthwith his person was seized by the Mohicans and surrendered to the commissioners of the United Colonies. Although he and his uncle, Canonicus, had been the best friends and benefactors of the colony, yet he was doomed to death by four Puritan ministers. Not long after, a party of Wampanoags had killed eight or nine Englishmen in revenge for some private offense. Philip, their chief, who was the son of the famous Massosoit, the earliest friend of the colonists, is said to have wept when he heard that a white man's blood had been shed. The English prepared for war. Within a week the Wampanoags, 700 strong, were driven from their palisades. Philip fled to the Indians of the interior and roused all the tribes, save the Mohicans, from Maine to Connecticut. In their first onslaught they destroyed twelve or thirteen towns, burnt some 600 houses, and killed in battle or cut off unawares between 500 and 600 settlers. But retaliation came swift and unsparing. The Wampanoags were exterminated by the butcheries of Captain Church, the Narragansetts by Captain Winslow. Philip was shot in a swamp, his wife and his son were sold as slaves to Bermuda. Such is the short story of "King Philip's War," 1675–76.

Reuben G. Thwaites: *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.* — J. G. Shea: *Catholic Missions, 1529–1854.* — G. E. Ellis: *The Red Man and the White Man.* — Bancroft: *Indian Races of the Pacific States.* — Moore; Trumbull: *Indian Wars.* — Edm. Burke: *European Settlements in Am.* — Schoolcraft: *Historical and Statistical Information, etc.* — Catlin: *On the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the Indians.* — J. G. Shea: *The Jesuits, Recollects and the Indians* (Narrat. and Crit. Hist.). — De Smet: *Letters and Sketches.* — Lüken: *Die Traditionen des Menschengeschlechtes.* — Parkman: *Conspiracy of Pontiac.*

§ 4.

NEGRO SLAVERY IN NORTH AMERICA.

95. Origin of Negro Slavery. — Negro slavery owed its origin to the Moorish wars in the Spanish Peninsula. The Moors dragged thousands of Christians into slavery, and the Spaniards and Portuguese retaliated. Moorish captives and prisoners of war then purchased freedom with "black Moors" or negroes. Alexander III. had, however, reasserted the principle already proclaimed by St. Gregory the Great, that "nature having made no slaves, all men have a natural right to liberty." Slavery was accordingly treated as a punishment for crime, such as war or rebellion against Christians, felony, relapse into idolatry or cannibalism. At first, the severity of bondage was mitigated by benevolent legislation. Commercial slave trade with its barbarous slave hunts appeared in the middle of the fifteenth century. The Holy See never sanctioned the slave trade, but since Eugene IV. repeatedly condemned the iniquitous traffic. Paul III. twice passed sentence of excommunication against Europeans who would enslave negroes or any other class of men. Cardinal Ximenes opposed the introduction of negroes into Hispaniola though authorized by the Spanish law. Las Casas, who in his charity for the weaker Indians had advised the employment of the stronger negroes in the colonies, lived to regret his counsel.

96. England and the Slave Trade. — England became interested in the slave trade through the pirate John Hawkins. Elizabeth herself was allured by the gain so easily gotten and engaged in the smuggling and selling of negro slaves. Her example was followed by all the Stuarts and the earlier Hanover kings who each in his turn founded one or more slave-trading companies. In 1749 the slave trade, until then monopolized by these companies, was thrown open to all British subjects free from taxes. By the Assiento contract, which Bolingbroke secured in the Peace of Utrecht, England obtained the monopoly of importing into the Spanish West Indies 144,000 negroes at the rate of 4,800 a year, at a fixed duty, with the right of importing any further number at a lower duty. Thus the Southern States of the future Union were all peopled with negro slaves. Before the Peace of Utrecht the colonies were equally responsible with the home government for the slave trade. But after the peace the encouragement of this traffic became the principal object of England's colonial policy, "the pillar and support" of her trade in America. All Africa was convulsed with civil wars and infested by bands of native slave hunters after victims for the English trade. Bancroft in a careful computation estimates the number of negroes imported by the English alone, between 1676 and 1776 — the century preceding the prohibition of the slave trade by the American Congress — at 3,000,000, without counting the untold numbers that perished on the voyage. The attempts of some of the colonies to prohibit or restrict the importation of negroes was invariably defeated by England.

97. Slavery in the Colonies. — The first slaves were conveyed to Virginia in a Dutch vessel, 1619. New England saw the first importation, 1637. Henceforth slavery existed in all the colonies, both Dutch and English; but it speedily gravitated to the South. Although the importation of slaves in New England was never considerable, yet the slave trade was mainly carried on by ships from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which carried rum to Africa and brought back slaves to the southern colonies and to the West Indies. By 1763 there were about 300,000 negroes in North America. The treatment of slaves depended to a great extent on the character of those who owned them. In the North they dwelt under the same roof with their masters and were employed in agriculture and domestic services. Public opinion protected them against cruelty. In Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, they dwelt in detached huts and worked on the tobacco, rice and cotton plantations. In families imbued with the spirit of Christianity, they were treated like members of the household. This was especially the case in the old Catholic families of Maryland. In general, however, their lot was that of hopeless, abject and crushing servitude. As the supply of slaves was abundant, bad masters found it to their interest to work them to death, and to get new hands. When Georgia adopted slavery with the approval of Methodist ministers, including Whitefield and the two Wesleys, it added a clause for the religious instruction of the negroes. But outside of Georgia, and parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania, little heed was given to the conversion of the slaves. Many thought that baptism would invalidate their titles of ownership. Others feared that even primary and religious education would turn the slaves against their oppressors. The Protestant Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent missionaries to the western coast of Africa, but absolutely refused to convert their own slaves in Barbadoes.

98. Legislation. — Virginia in her first slave law (1663) enacted the clause, that mulatto children should be bond or free according to the condition of the mother, thus declaring the greatest number of mulatto children slaves. Maryland reversed the law and thereby freed the greatest number of such children. Successive legislation discouraged enfranchisement and made the master absolute lord over the negro. The law did not account as felony the killing of a slave resulting from extreme correction. Absconding or fugitive slaves who resisted apprehension could be lawfully wounded or killed. Slave legislation reached its climax early in the eighteenth century when slaves were declared, by the English law, legal merchandize, and by the colonial law real estate, being a fixture of the soil. Thus in the long lapse of years the institution of slavery created a landed aristocracy infinitely worse than the feudal nobility of the middle ages.

Lecky II. 5 — *Histories of the U. S. esp. Hildreth and Bancroft.* — Ludlow: *War of Amer. Independence.* — G. W. Williams: *History of the Negro Race in Am.* — See Works to B. III. Ch. 4 on the Slavery Question.

THE ORIGINAL ENGLISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA.

1. **VIRGINIA,** (*Jamestown*), 1607, named by Walter Raleigh in honor of Queen Elizab.	Settled by English Episcopalians under charter of London Co. granted by *James I.*	Government aristocratic. County System. *House of Burgesses,* 1619. Royal Province since 1624.	First importation of negro slaves, 1619. War of Indian extermination since 1622. First slave law, 1663.
2. **MASSACHUSETTS,** 1620, named after an Indian tribe, part of **NEW ENGLAND,** named by John Smith.			
(1) *Plymouth,* 1620.	Settled by the "*Pilgrims,*" English Separatists.	Government and Charter of Mass. transferred to America, 1629.	First importation of negro slaves into New England, 1637.
(2) *Salem.*	by English Puritans, Charter of Plymouth Co. by *James I.*		*Salem Witch Craze,* 1688–92.
(3) *Massachusetts Bay,* 1628; *Boston,* 1630.	Engl. Puritans; Crown Charter under Council for New England, gr. by *Chas. I.*	Government theocratic. Township organization. Intolerant penal laws.	
(4) *Maine,* 1629.	Engl. colonists under *Fernando Gorges.*		Cath. Miss. of the *Abenakis* destroyed by the settlers of Maine.
3. **NEW HAMPSHIRE,** 1629, part of New Engl.	English colonists under *John Mason* of Hampshire; Council for New Engl. Charter; *Chas. I.*		
4. **MARYLAND,** (*St. Mary's*), **1632,** named after *Maria Henrietta,* Queen of England.	Cath. gentlemen under *Leonard Calvert,* younger bro. of *Cecil, Lord Baltimore,* under Charter of *Chas. I.* granted to *Geo. Calvert, first Lord Baltimore,* 1632.	Government proprietary, aristocratic, representative. Religious toleration under Catholic management, intolerance under Protestant rule.	Fair treatment of the Indians.

5. **CONNECTICUT, 1636,** named after the principal river; part of New Engl. (1) *Windsor.*	Military colony of *Plymouth men.*	Government of Connecticut theocratic. Conn. *Blue Laws.*	*1643–66 first Federation of colonies.* The *New Engl. Union* of *Hampsh., Mass., Plymouth, New Haven* and *Conn.* (a) ag. The Indians; (b) ag. *Rhode Island; Pequods* exterminated by Conn. *King Philip's* War. Extermination of the *Wampanoags*, and the *Narragansetts*, 1675–76.
(2). *Saybrook* (aft. *Visc. Say and Seal*, and Lord *Brooke.*	Settled under Crown charter.	New Haven organized under a "*Social Contract.*" Mosaic law the fundamental law of the land.	
(3) *Connecticut*, 1636–37.	Emigrants from the *Bay* colony.		
(4) *New Haven*, 1638.	London traders under Indian purchase title.		
6. **RHODE ISLAND, 1636** (from the Dutch Roodt Eyland = red island). (1) *Providence Plantation.*	Mass. exiles under *Roger Williams.*	Government purely Democratic; no State religion; toleration for all exc. Cath.	
(2) *Rhode Island.*	Indian purchase title.		
7. **NEW YORK**, 1664, after *James, Duke of York*; originally *New Netherlands*, 1621.	Originally settled by Dutch traders; *Minuit*, first governor of New *Amsterdam*; under Dutch West India Co. 1621. English title: conquest.	New Netherlands and New York had the southern system of aristocratic government. The *Dongan Charter* the fundamental law of N. Y. City.	The New Netherlanders divided their energy between massacring Indians and attacking New England esp. Conn.
8. **NEW JERSEY,** 1664, named in compliment to *Sir G. Carteret*, gov. of *Jersey.*	Originally settled by the Dutch. English title: conquest.		

THE ORIGINAL ENGLISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA — *Continued.*

9. **DELAWARE,** 1664, aft. *Lord Delaware;* originally New Sweden.	Originally settled by Swedes and Finns, 1638, under authority of *Queen Christina of Sweden,* conquered by the Dutch, 1655; by the Engl., 1664.		
Carolina, 1663 (*Charleston,* 1670), n. after *Charles II.;* carved out of Virginia and divided by the settlers into 10. **NORTH CAROLINA,** 11. **SOUTH CAROLINA,** 1729.	Colonists sent out by Lords *Clarendon (Hyde)* and *Albemarle* (Gen. *Monk*), etc, under Charter granted by *Chas. II.* to seven proprietors.	Organized under *Shaftesbury's* and *Locke's* "*Grand Model,*" a phantastic feudal Constitution abolished by the settlers. The Carolinas always noted for political turbulence.	The *Tuscaroras* driven northward, the *Yemassees* into Florida. Brutal warfare against Catholic missions and Christianized Indians.
12. **PENNSYLVANIA,** *Philadelphia,* 1682, named after *William Penn,* leader of the Engl. Quakers.	Quakers; admittance granted to any other settlers; Germans. Charter gr. by *Chas. II.* to Wm. Penn, 1681.	Northern system of Democratic government. Religious toleration and political franchise granted to all believers in God.	
13. **GEORGIA,** 1732, (after *George II.*) carved out of Carolina.	Insolvent debtors and needy of all sorts, under Charter of Geo. II, granted to the philanthropist James Oglethorpe.		Slavery excluded by *Oglethorpe;* later introduced by the settlers.

§ 5.

CONTACT OF COLONIAL WITH EUROPEAN HISTORY.

99. **Codfisheries.** — The codfisheries on the coast and banks of Newfoundland, discovered in the days of Henry VII. by the Cabots, and utilized from that day to the present, formed the first link between Europe and North America.

100. Treaty of St. Germain, 1632. — The last of the Huguenot wars in which Charles I. and Buckingham took part, was the first European war that reached over to North America. In 1629 Kirk took Quebec under a commission of Charles I. The seizure happened two months after the termination of the Anglo-French war. Cardinal Richelieu as Protector of Canada insisted on restitution. Diplomatic negotiations accompanied by some desultory fighting in New France finally led to the Peace of St. Germain, 1632, in which England recognized New France, Canada and Acadia as French possessions.

101. Acadia Taken and Restored by England. — When the Anglo-Dutch war about the Navigation Act broke out between Cromwell and Holland (1652–54), Cromwell ordered a New England expedition under Sedgwick to attack the New Netherlands. The Peace of London, however, was concluded before the expedition sailed. By secret orders from Cromwell, Sedgwick attacked and conquered Acadia, 1655. Acadia remained an English province under the name of Nova Scotia, till the Peace of Breda, 1668.

102. **Acquisition of New York by England.** — The open disregard of the Navigation Act in the dealings of the English colonies with the New Netherlands deprived England of a considerable revenue, whilst the self-government of the English settlers was considered by the Stuarts as injurious to the sovereignty of the mother country. Clarendon, then Chancellor, saw in the conquest of the Dutch possessions the means of bringing the English subjects into closer dependence on the King. Accordingly he purchased a forgotten claim, contained in the New England Patent, covering the territory from the Connecticut to the Delaware, part of Maine, and some islands Charles II. vested this claim in his brother, the Duke of York. James being the presumptive heir, this claim was expected to be merged in the crown at his accession.

In 1664 a small English fleet, reinforced by colonial forces, appeared before New Amsterdam, and demanded and obtained the surrender of the city and the country without bloodshed. The capitulation confirmed the inhabitants in the possession of their property, the exercise of their religion, and their freedom as citizens. The names of New Amsterdam and New Netherlands were changed into New York, that of Fort Orange into Albany, in honor of James Duke of York and Albany. This seizure was one of several acts of hostility which led to the first Anglo-Dutch war under Charles II. (1665–67). France entered the contest as England's ally in 1666. In the Peace of Breda between Holland, England and France, England retained New York and Delaware, restored Acadia to France in exchange for some islands in South America, and left Surinam to Holland.

In the second Anglo-Dutch war (1672–74), a Dutch squadron reconquered the New Netherlands. But the Peace of Westminster gave New York and Delaware to England on the principle of a mutual restoration of conquests. Thus every mile of the American coast from Maine to South Carolina was at length under the flag of England.

103. King Williams' War, 1689–90 and 1696–97.— The War of the Palatine Succession (1689–97) was called in the colonies King William's war. The question of the English succession was uppermost in America; that of the Palatine succession in Europe. As William III. had sent no instructions, the colonies acted for themselves. They rejected the offer of neutrality which Louis XIV. had made in order to prevent Indian warfare. The Indians of Canada and Maine sided with the French, the Five Nations of the Iroquois with the English colonies.

Hostilities opened at Dover, New Hampshire, where Major Richard Waldron, who had betrayed 350 Abenakis into slavery, was surprised by the Penacook Indians of Maine and killed with 23 others. Next followed the massacre of 200 Canadians at Lachine and the temporary occupation of Montreal by a band of English and 1500 Iroquois. But Frontenac, Governor of Canada, avenged his losses by the capture of three colonial forts (Schenectady, N. Y.; Salmon Falls, N. H.; Casco Bay, Maine), 1689.

In the meantime, the first Colonial Congress representing New York, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, met at New York, and resolved to

conquer Canada. Sir William Phips, who had taken Port Royal and effected the submission of Acadia, sailed with 32 vessels and 2,000 troops to Quebec. This undertaking, however, proved a signal failure as well as the march upon Montreal of the New York contingent under Governor Leisler. This double disaster and the retaking of Port Royal by the French put an end to the first period of the war. In 1696 the Canadians captured Fort Pemaquid in Maine, harassed the Five Nations, and were on the point of attacking Newfoundland, when the Peace of Ryswick terminated hostilities in Europe and America.

The Peace of Ryswick imposed on the American combatants a reciprocal restitution of all conquests and intrusted the regulation of the American frontiers to an international boundary commission, which never met.

The Five Nations were not included in the Peace of Ryswick. Both France and England contended for an alliance with the Iroquois. But whilst William III. tried by all means to make them recognize his sovereignty, France promised not to touch their national existence. Besides, many Iroquois had become earnest Catholics. A law passed in New York, 1700, prohibiting any Catholic missionary under penalty of death to enter the territory of the Iroquois, induced them to side with France. A treaty of peace with the Indians and the authorities of Canada was signed in a general assembly before the walls of Montreal, 1701.

104. Queen Anne's War, 1701–1713. — The War of the Spanish Succession is called in America Queen Anne's War. In King William's War, France alone was fighting the colonies; in the present war France and Spain were united. The colonies that entered the contest were New England, because of its neighborhood to the French, and South Carolina, because of its neighborhood to the Spaniards. The Five Nations, in accordance with the Peace of Montreal, refused to attack the Indians of Canada. Schuyler, of New York, negotiated a treaty of neutrality with Canada, thus New York was not engaged in the struggle until 1709 and 1711, when the failure and disgrace of its two expeditions had the only result of burdening the colony with a heavy debt.

105. The War in the South. — The object of the Indian wars in South Carolina was not so much to punish or destroy the natives as to capture slaves for the West Indies. Therefore a bounty was offered for every Indian prisoner. This style of warfare with its accompanying atrocities roused the Indians to deeds of retaliation, and finally drove the Tuscaroras

northward, where they joined the confederacy of the Five Nations as the sixth. The Yemassees were driven into Florida.

James Moore, the governor of South Carolina, organized a force of 1,200 men, took command of the fleet, and made Colonel Daniel commander of the land forces. The first deeds of these heroes were an attack on the peaceful missions of the Franciscans on the coast of what later became Georgia, the homes of converted and civilized Indians. Their villages were destroyed, their churches burnt, the converts killed or sold into slavery, and the surviving missionaries carried away as prisoners. Moore then advanced upon St. Augustine, and destroyed the town and the Franciscan mission. But the vigorous defense of the citadel by Don Joseph de la Cerda, and the appearance in the offing of two Spanish men of war, forced the governor to a hasty and undignified retreat, 1702. At the head of fifty whites and 1,000 heathen savages Moore then attacked the numerous towns of the Indians living on the Bay of Apalache, who had been converted and partly civilized by the Spanish missionaries. The indiscriminate massacre of the missionaries and of 800 converts, the tortures inflicted by the heathen tribesmen on their Catholic victims and the sale of 1,400 captives into slavery fill a page in the history of religious persecution rather than of civilized warfare.

106. The War in the North. — A New England raid into the Canadian and Indian territory brought the northern natives down upon Maine and New Hampshire and into the very heart of Massachusetts, 1704. A first attempt of Massachusetts in 1707 to reduce Port Royal failed. After a preparation of two years, an English and American fleet took Port Royal, which received the name of Annapolis in honor of Queen Anne. Acadia was reduced and became Nova Scotia, 1710. In the following year a far more powerful armament was equipped to conquer Canada. Sir Walker with a fleet of 15 men-of-war and 40 transports was to take Quebec, and Nicholson, governor of New York, to march upon Montreal. Incompetency and a severe storm on the St. Lawrence frustrated the attempt on Quebec, and discouragement that on Montreal. The Peace of Utrecht, 1713, secured Nova Scotia, the Hudson Bay and Straits, and the fisheries of Newfoundland, to Great Britain.

The boundary question between the French and the English territories was as little decided by the Peace of Utrecht as on former occasions, and remained a bone of contention for the future. After the Peace of Utrecht the English government promised the Catholic Acadians freedom of worship and released them from the obligation of fighting against their French countrymen. From this period to the War of the Austrian Succession there was only border warfare with the Indians during which Massachusetts obtained cessions of territory from the Indians by fair and foul means, and ruthlessly destroyed the Catholic missions of the Abenakis in Maine.

107. King George's War, 1740–48. — King George's War is known in Europe as the War of the Austrian Succession. The only important event of this war in America was the capture of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island at the principal entrance of the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. Louisburg, attacked from the sea by the English Commodore Warren, and from the land by 4,000 colonial troops under William Pepperell, capitulated after a siege of fifty days. But the Peace of Aachen compelled England to restore Louisburg and Cape Breton Island to France.

Parkman: *A Half Century of Conflict;* C. *Frontenac, New France and Louis XIV.; Montcalm and Wolfe.*

CHAPTER V.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

§ 1.

AMERICAN CAUSES OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

108. Conflicting Claims of France and England. — The Seven Years' War in Europe had its remote cause in an outbreak of hostilities between France and England in North America. It was this hostility which, for the first time, determined the rearrangement of European alliances, England and Prussia against Austria and France. The claims of England and France to the interior of the continent were irreconcilable. France based her claims (a) on discovery and exploration made under the patronage and at the expense of the kings, the nobility and the Church of France. (b) On actual, though thinly scattered settlements and the possession of the inner strongholds of the continent. The French had numerous fortresses, more than sixty military trading and missionary posts from the great lakes to New Orleans in a country wholly uninhabited by the English. (c) On the expressed consent of the Indians whom the French did not dispossess of their lands, and on the conversion of many tribes. Against such claims the English, apart from the occupation of the Atlantic colonies, had only paper charters, contradictory grants of soil reaching across America to the Pacific, often issued with absolute disregard of established rights, and valueless without occupation. Owing to the unsettled state of the boundary question, France still claimed the St. Lawrence basin connecting Canada with the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, called Louisiana. The English were thus on all sides surrounded and hemmed in by the territories of their rivals. The question became a contest for colonial supremacy in America between France and England.

109. Ohio Valley Dispute. — To resist what the English authorities considered French encroachments, Virginia founded the Ohio Company, and obtained from George II. a grant of 500,000

acres, 1749. The governor of Canada at once sent a force of 300 men to trace and mark the Ohio Valley for France. After failing in a diplomatic mission to Canada, 1753, George Washington, a young Virginian of Westmoreland County on the Potomac, was sent as second in command, under Colonel Fry, to the Ohio where the company had built a fort. This fort had meanwhile been taken and strengthened by the French and named, after the governor of Canada, Fort Duquesne. The Virginia party, too late to save the fort, defeated a Canadian detachment at Great Meadows, 1754. By the death of Fry, Washington became commander, but had to capitulate to a superior French force, being accorded all the honors of war, 1754. Thus war had actually broken out between France and England before it was declared. Early in 1755, General Braddock with 2,000 men arrived from England as commander-in-chief of all the colonial troops.

110. The Expulsion of the Acadians, 1755. — Four expeditions were planned. The expedition to Niagara, a point which commanded the fur trade of the great lakes, resulted in the rebuilding of Fort Oswego. The expedition to the Lakes Champlain and George commanding the inland route of New York, New England and Montreal resulted in the erection of Fort William Henry by the English, whilst the French, though defeated in the field, maintained Crown Point, and seized Ticonderoga. A third expedition, landing near the Bay of Fundy, subdued New Brunswick and accomplished the barbarous deportation of the Acadians.

The Acadians were Catholic peasants, immigrants from Normandy, a most innocent and virtuous people, protected by their very situation in an out-of-the-way place. They lived in a state of perfect equality without distinction of rank, without ambition or avarice. They demanded no interest for loans of money or other property, and anticipated one another's wants with kindly liberality. They were humane and hospitable to strangers. They were very remarkable for the inviolate purity of their morals. Joyful and gay at heart they were almost always of one mind. Simplicity and candor were their distinctive traits. Never at any time did the people dwelling in the Acadian peninsula take up or even threaten to take up arms against the English or for the French, since they became subjects of England. The only points, guaranteed to them by England, on which they insisted with unalterable firmness, were the free exercise of the Catholic religion, and the privilege of not bearing arms against their French countrymen in Canada.

The refusal of the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance shorn of this privilege was the ostensible cause of their deportation. Greed was the real cause. Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia, and his council, falsely invoking the King's name, who had condemned the project, determined to disperse the whole people, 18,000 souls, among the British colonies. The Acadians were kept entirely ignorant of their destiny and allured to gather in their harvest which was secretly allotted to the use of their conquerors. They were then summoned to their churches (Colonel Winslow at Grand Pré), where the proclamation of their fate was read to them. At the point of the bayonet they were driven on board an English fleet, and irrespective of family ties — parents separated from children, wives from husbands, sisters from brothers — scattered all along the coast among the Protestant colonists of the sea board from New Hampshire to Georgia. Before leaving the roadstead of Nova Scotia they saw their cattle driven off, their property removed, and their villages burnt to prevent them from returning. Seven thousand were deported in 1755, the rest in the following years. This deportation of peaceful and innocent folk, of which Bancroft says: "I know not if the annals of the human race keep the record of sorrows so wantonly inflicted, so bitter, and so perennial, as fell upon the French inhabitants of Acadia," was not only unauthorized by the British government but prompted solely by the basest motives of pecuniary greed on the part of the provincial authorities. Governor Lawrence got the live stock and personal property, his accomplices the lands of the deported Acadians.*

111. Braddock's Defeat, 1755. — Of the four expeditions planned, the principal one, commanded by General Braddock himself, with George Washington as his aid-de-camp, marched against the French in the Ohio Valley. Despising Washington's suggestions, and irritating the friendly Iroquois, Braddock blundered into a French and Indian ambuscade, was defeated with terrible slaughter, and mortally wounded in the battle of Fort Duquesne. He died four days after the battle. Washington saved the scattered remnants of his army. The defeat of Braddock caused widespread consternation in the English colonies, and hastened the rupture between England and France in Europe.

Lecky: II., 8, p. 482. — A. R. Ropes: *Causes of the Seven Years' War* (Royal Hist. Soc. Transaction, new Series, v. 4). — Chapman: *The French in the Allegheny V.* — J. G. Shea: *The Mississippi Valley.* — Parkman: *Montcalm and Wolfe.* — Sargeant: *Hist. of Braddock's Defeat; Lives of Washington* (see Ch. IX. § 2) — Ph. H. Smith: *Acadia, a Lost Chapter in Am. History.* — Edouard Richard: *Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in Am. Hist.* — *Acadian Confessors of the Faith:* C. A. Q., 9, 12.

* Mr. Edouard Richard (*Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History*) has incontestibly established the true meaning of this historical episode against Atkins, Parkman and other maligners of the Acadians.

§ 2.

OUTBREAK OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR IN EUROPE.

112. The Naval War in Europe — Treaty of Westminster, 1756. — The defeat of Braddock did not nerve the incapable Duke of Newcastle, Pelham's brother, now prime minister, to an open war with France, but only to piratical seizures of French ships. Three hundred French merchantmen and 8,000 sailors brought into English ports, were the fruit of this lawless warfare. In his fear of French retaliation George II. grew anxious for the safety of Hanover. After groping about for alliances at Vienna and elsewhere, the ministry finally concluded a treaty of neutrality with Frederic II., who thereby abandoned his alliance with France. By this treaty of Westminster the two Powers bound themselves to prevent all foreign troops from entering Germany during the expected war between France and England (January, 1756). The following year this treaty became a subsidy treaty. France, meanwhile, had quietly armed a powerful fleet at Toulon, which in April 1756 sailed to Minorca, and conquered the island with its important harbor of Mahon from the English. Admiral Byng had retreated to Gibraltar before the somewhat larger French fleet, and subsequently paid for his timidity with his head. War was now formally declared between England and France.

113. Treaty of Versailles, 1756. — The alliance of England and Prussia led to an alliance of Austria and France by a treaty of neutrality and defense signed near Versailles May 1, 1756, in which each Power guaranteed the territory of the other.

Count Kaunitz, one of the most clever diplomats of the period, since 1753 Chancellor of State at Vienna, and for the next forty years director of the Austrian foreign policy, was the first statesman to establish an alliance with France, Austria's hereditary foe. The reconquest of Silesia with the aid of France was the object of his policy.

114. Austria and Russia. — A similar treaty of mutual defense in case of a new Prussian aggression existed between Austria and Russia since 1746. The coarse jests of the philosophical King on the scandals at the court of St. Petersburg had exasperated Elizabeth of Russia into a deadly enmity.

Her policy was to support Austria in the most effective way. On the other hand, Grand Duke Peter, the heir apparent, admired Frederic II. with almost idolatrous hero worship. Hence throughout the Seven Years' War, whenever the Russian Empress fell sick, her ministers and generals, in deference to Peter, either withdrew the armies from the field, or kept them inactive.

115. **Maria Theresa and Frederic II.** — In the interval of peace Frederic built strong fortresses, increased and perfected his army and pressed into his service whomsoever he could lay his hands upon. For this purpose he invaded the homes of his subjects, his recruiting officers snatching young and strong men from their beds at midnight, and enticed or kidnaped foreigners into his army by the most outrageous devices. His bad conscience made him fretful of any symptoms of danger and suspicion. Menzel, a corrupted government clerk at Dresden, supplied him with copies of a number of State papers preserved in the Saxon archives. A secretary of the Austrian embassy at Berlin was also in his pay. From Petersburg Grand Duke Peter furnished him information. When he perceived that the American quarrel of England and France would be fought out in Europe, he determined to anticipate his enemies. The aims of the Empress and Queen during the same period — the peace and welfare of her subjects and the defense of the Empire — gradually assumed a more aggressive character. Since the treaty of Versailles Maria Theresa resolved to attempt the humiliation of Prussia and the recovery of Silesia.

116. Invasion of Saxony, 1756. — Aware of the intention of the Empress, Frederic II. sent a summons to Maria Theresa to disarm. The answer not being satisfactory, Frederic at the head of 60,000 men swooped down upon Saxony without a declaration of war, and, dismantling its forts, "lifting" the money he found in the public treasuries, and exacting enormous war contributions, marched to Dresden, which he entered without opposition. The intention was to enter Bohemia at once and crush the Austrians before they had time to concentrate their forces. But Augustus III. took up a strong position on the river Pirna, appealed to Austria for aid, and brought Frederic's advance to a stop.

Public opinion outside of Prussia regarded the invasion of Saxony as a breach of the Law of Nations. To defend himself, Frederic obtained the keys of the archives and the originals of Menzel's copies, not without the personal humiliation of the Electress of Saxony. The famous defense which he published to Europe, ostensibly based on these papers, was a tissue of half truths and whole fabrications.

117. The Battle of Lobositz, 1756. — An Austrian army under Marshal Browne was sent to the relief of the Saxons. Frederic met the Austrians just within the borders of Bohemia, and fought the drawn battle of Lobositz, after which Marshal Browne continued his march as if nothing had happened. But he could not save the Saxons. They had failed to effect the junction agreed upon and were forced to capitulate. Augustus III. was allowed to retire to Poland. The officers were left the option of service under Frederic or dismissal under parole. The rank and file was forcibly enrolled under the Prussian flag and compelled to swear fidelity to Frederic.

Frederic's gain in troops was small, for most of the Saxons deserted before the beginning of the next campaign. Saxony had suffered terribly, but her resistance had saved Austria. Frederic's intended campaign had proved a failure; he was compelled to winter in Dresden. Meanwhile Austria, France and Russia could perfect their coalition. A treaty for the partition of some of Prussia's provinces was signed by the three Powers in the spring of 1757. Sweden joined the league as the ally of France, but her part in the war was unimportant. The Empire declared the invasion of Saxony as a breach of the imperial peace and formally declared war. Besides Hanover and Brunswick only a few minor princes continued in alliance with Frederic. Thus the Seven Years' War meant for Germany a civil war.

118. Campaign of 1757 in the East — Prague and Kolin. — To get the start of the enemy, Frederic early in 1757, leaving the defense of Germany to the Duke of Cumberland, entered Bohemia. Before Prague Frederic defeated the Austrians in the most bloody battle since Malplaquet. The Austrians lost their best general, Marshal Browne, and 13,000 men. The Prussians lost 12,500 men and their old hero, Marshal Schwerin. The siege and bombardment of Prague by 50,000 Prussians gave Marshal Daun time to march to its relief. Frederic went to meet him and found him encamped on the heights of Kolin. After seven unsuccessful attacks the king was obliged to retreat in disorder. The retreat turned into a rout, when, to avenge their country, three Saxon cavalry regiments charged through the broken ranks of the Prussian infantry. The loss of the battle meant the loss of the campaign. Frederic was compelled to raise the siege of Prague and to evacuate

Bohemia. He returned to Saxony with 70,000 of the 117,000 with which he had commenced the campaign.

The Russians had entered East Prussia under Apraxin and won a victory (at Grossjägerndorf). But hearing that Elizabeth was sick, Apraxin returned home and was dismissed by the angry Empress. Whilst the Austrians in slow advances conquered part of Silesia and took Breslau, General Hadik made a dashing raid into the heart of Prussia, entered Berlin, and raised contributions in city and country.

119. Campaign in the West — Hastenbeck and Klosterseven. — Before the end of March 100,000 French in two divisions crossed the Rhine, occupied Cleve, and marched upon Hanover plundering and destroying the property of friend and foe alike. Eight days after the Battle of Kolin Marshal D'Estrées defeated the Duke of Cumberland at Hastenbeck on the Weser. Cumberland abandoned Hanover and Brunswick to the invaders, never stopping in his retreat till he had reached the fortress of Stade near the mouth of the Elbe. The entire army was soon at the mercy of the French. Through the mediation of the King of Denmark, the Convention of Klosterseven was concluded between Richelieu, D'Estrées' successor, and Cumberland, which yielded Hanover, Brunswick and Hesse to the French. Cumberland was allowed to dismiss his German auxiliaries, whilst the Hanoverian army might winter around Stade.

Richelieu lost the fruit of his triumph. The transaction was really a capitulation. But Cumberland begged so hard that the term might be avoided, that Richelieu good-naturedly allowed it to be called a convention, forgetting that a convention, unlike a capitulation, was subject to ratification by the respective governments. Public indignation in England forced the Duke of Cumberland out of actual service. Pitt, then minister of war, repudiated the Convention of Klosterseven. The Hanoverian army was reorganized, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the brother of the reigning Duke, called to the chief command.

120. Rossbach and Leuthen. — The position of Frederic was now precarious. The French were masters in North Germany west of the Elbe. The Russians stood in East Prussia. The Swedes threatened Pomerania. The Austrians advanced in Silesia. In Central Germany 40,000 French under Soubise joined the 20,000 Imperial troops for the purpose of liberating Saxony. Frederic never lost his presence of mind or relaxed his efforts to conquer the increasing difficulties. For a last extremity he always car-

ried poison about his person. His immediate plan was first to beat Soubise and then to hasten to Silesia.

The French and Imperialists had advanced to the neighborhood of Leipsic. At Rossbach, a few miles west of the battlefield of Lützen, Frederic with only 22,000 men encountered the enemy about 50,000 strong. He masked his movements behind two low hills. The cavalry of the allies were just mounting the lower hill, when Seidlitz with his hussars suddenly appeared on the crest, and swept down on the unsuspecting columns. In half an hour they were scattered; in another half hour the infantry was routed broadcast over the land. The allies lost 8,000 dead, wounded and prisoners; Frederic's loss was 500. He was soon free to turn to Silesia, which he did with his usual rapidity. The decisive battle was fought at Leuthen. The Austrian battle array of nearly 80,000 men had the unreasonable extension of six miles. Frederic's excellent tactics misled the Austrian leaders. The result was the complete rout of the Austrians. They lost 10,000 killed and wounded, 12,000 prisoners, thousands more on their retreat to Bohemia, and 17,000 prisoners by the capitulation of Breslau. By the spring of 1758, all Silesia was again in Frederic's possession.

The battles of Rossbach and Leuthen did not restore the prestige which Frederic enjoyed after the battle of Prague; yet they saved him from destruction and gave him another fighting chance.

121. Pitt — Battle of Crefeld. — Pitt was now firmly established in power and inspired England so completely with his own fiery spirit, that his administration became one of the strongest in her history. He organized numerous descents upon the coasts of France to divert her attention from more important points, especially from the colonies. He obtained from Parliament an annual subsidy of 670,000*l.* for Frederic. He reinforced the Hanoverian army of Ferdinand of Brunswick with 12,000 English troops. After sharing the glories of Rossbach, Ferdinand drove the French behind the Aller, and the following year across the Rhine, and defeated Prince Clermont, Richelieu's successor, in the battle of Crefeld.

Books to Ch. III., § 1 and 2. — Lecky: II. 8, 487-537. — F. W. Longman: *Fred. the Gr. and the S. Y's War.* — *Lives of Pitt, Earl of Chatham:* Brougham (*Statesmen of the Time of Geo. III.*); Earle (*Engl. Premiers*); Macaulay (*Essays*). — Schäfer, *Gesch. des Siebenj* Krieges.

§ 3.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR IN EUROPE — FREDERIC ON THE DEFENSIVE.

122. Frederic's Campaign of 1758 — Zorndorf. — Frederic opened the campaign with the invasion of Moravia and with the siege of Olmütz, its most important fortress. His operations were greatly hampered by the army of Daun who hovered about the besiegers, and by the loyal devotion to Austria of the Moravian inhabitants. The rising general Laudon, as quick and impetuous in his movements as Daun was slow and cautious, surprised and partly captured, partly destroyed, an immense Prussian convoy, and thus brought the siege to a sudden close. Constantly harassed by the Austrians, Frederic retreated through Bohemia into Silesia, but saw himself compelled to face a new enemy. Again the Russians under Fermor had cut a way through East Prussia with fire and sword and were approaching the Oder. Frederic met them at Zorndorf. Though badly officered, the Russians stood their ground with dogged courage for ten hours. Seidlitz' hussars saved the day for Frederic. Zorndorf was the bloodiest battle of the war, 11,500 Prussians and 21,000 Russians covered the field. Fermor withdrew into Poland. Frederic hastened to Saxony, where his brother, Prince Henry, was confronting Marshal Daun and the army of the Empire. It took the wary Daun a month before deciding on a battle. At Hochkirch he espied his chance. He assailed Frederic's camp in a night attack. The excellent discipline of the Prussians prevented a panic; but they had to retreat with a loss of three generals, 9,000 men and 100 cannon.

Marshal Daun failed to reap the fruit of his victory. He allowed Frederic to reinforce himself, to evade the Austrian army, and to clear Silesia of the enemy. Returning with his army reorganized, the King finally compelled Daun to evacuate Saxony. Thus at the end of the year Frederic was still in the undisputed possession of Silesia and Saxony.

123. Campaign of 1759 — Battle of Kunersdorf. — The campaign of 1759 did not begin before summer. Frederic was straitened for money. Whatever the country raised or England contributed went to the army. Civil officers remained unpaid. Most of the veterans were dead and had to be replaced by raw levies. Towards the middle of July the Russians

under Solticow advanced from Poland, and after defeating a Prussian army (at Züllichau) took possession of Frankfort on the Oder.

Daun took up a strongly fortified position on the river Neisse. Laudon and Hadik with 12,000 horse and 8,000 foot effected a junction with the 78,000 Russians who occupied the heights of Kunersdorf near Frankfort. Frederic resolved to attack them with only 50,000 men. The onslaught was irresistible; the left wing of the Russians gave way. Flushed with this first success Frederic resolved, against the advice of his generals, to destroy the Russian army by seizing the Frankfort bridge and cutting off their retreat. But assisted by six Austrian regiments, the Russians turned the Prussian victory into a defeat. When Frederic was in full retreat, General Laudon swept down on him and inflicted the most bloody and disorderly rout of the war on the Prussian army.

For once in his life, Frederic was stupefied by this disaster, in which he lost most of his generals, nearly 20,000 men and 200 cannon, barely saving his own life. He resigned the command into the hands of his brother Henry. When the news of Kunersdorf arrived, Dresden capitulated to the Austrians, and was henceforth lost to Frederic. The King, however, shook off his despair when he saw the allies neglecting to use their victory, the Russians and Austrians quarreling amongst themselves, Marshal Daun remaining in stolid inactivity, and the Russians, in expectation of the death of Elizabeth, marching back into Poland.

124. Maxen. — Desirous of concluding the campaign with a victory, Frederic sent an army into Saxony to reinforce his brother Henry and to reconquer Dresden. The result was, that Marshal Daun surrounded a Prussian corps at Maxen, and captured nine generals, five hundred officers and 12,000 of the line. The capitulation of Maxen destroyed Frederic's plans for the year and left the Saxon capital in the hands of the Austrians.

125. Campaign of 1760. — Whilst Frederic was facing the army of Daun in Saxony, Laudon destroyed another Prussian army corps at Landeshut, captured Glatz, and thereby opened Upper Silesia to the Austrians. Frederic tried to indemnify himself by the recapture of Dresden. But General Maguire, who commanded at Dresden, vigorously defended the city till the approach of an

Austrian army obliged Frederic to retire. Baffled in his design, he bombarded the city with red hot balls, taking the churches and the palaces for his aim, needlessly slaughtering multitudes of peaceful inhabitants and laying whole quarters in ashes. Meanwhile the Russians had again marched to the Oder. To prevent the union of the Austrians and Russians, Frederic, who was tracked by two Austrian armies under Daun and Lacy, marched from Saxony into Silesia, where Laudon awaited him, while the Russians crossed the Oder. With his usual rapidity he attacked Laudon, and inflicted the first defeat on the brave general at Liegnitz, before the two other armies came up to join him. Frederic thereupon sent an exaggerated report of the victory to Prince Henry, intended to be intercepted by the Russians. The latter took the bait and recrossed the Oder. Frederic closed the campaign of the year with the victory of Torgau over Daun.

126. **Campaign of 1761.** — In western Germany, the war dragged on its weary length without decisive action. Prince Ferdinand kept on the defensive, as he had only 80,000 men against the 140,000 French troops. On the other hand, the rottenness of the French administration, ruled by favorites and women, pervaded every department of the army, and robbed it of all its effectiveness. Austria and Prussia were equally exhausted. Thus the campaign of 1761 was one of marches and maneuvers without a single pitched battle. The only event of importance was the brilliant seizure of the Silesian fortress of Schweidnitz by Laudon which enabled the Austrians and Russians to winter in Silesia and Glatz, whilst another Russian army after taking Kolberg wintered in Pomerania and Brandenburg.

Works already quoted. Lecky II. 8, pp. 551–565. Malleson: *Military Life of Gen. Laudon.* — Mauvillon: *Duke of Brunswick.* — *Duke of Brunswick:* E. R. '97, 3, '98, 1.

§ 4.

THE WAR IN INDIA AND IN AMERICA.

127. Akbar the Great. — Whilst great battles were fought in Europe, the war was simultaneously carried on in Asia and in America. In India various Mohammedan dynasties were, in the sixteenth century, subdued by the descendants of Tamerlane, who founded a new Mongol Empire, 1526–1761. Its capital was first at Agra, afterward at Delhi. Akbar the Great, whose reign was a long

series of conquests, was the most prominent Emperor of the line, 1556–1605. His policy was to unite the Hindoo and Mohammedan populations by a religious toleration which would enable him to obtain military support from both. He even conceived the idea of founding a new universal religion made up of what he considered the best elements of Islamism, Hindooism and Christianity. To study the Christian doctrine he called the Jesuits to his court (Rodolfo Aquaviva), and for several years treated them with great distinction. His rationalizing temper, however, lack of moral courage and the influence of his surroundings prevented his conversion. His successors abandoned his policy of toleration.

128. The Mahrattas. — Under the rule of Emperor Aurangzeb (1658–1707), a Hindoo Kingdom of Mahrattas rose in the Deccan, and after crippling the Mongol Empire became independent in 1726. Within the Empire the Indian Nabobs (vice-roys), whilst still owing a nominal allegiance to the court of Delhi, made themselves practically independent. By a similar process of disintegration, the Mahratta Kingdom, too, became a confederacy of independent chiefs. The disputes of the Mohammedan rulers among themselves and with the Mahrattas offered advantages to the European settlers to strengthen their own position by taking part in the quarrels of the natives.

129. Rivalry between France and England in India. — Since the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, the Portuguese occupied Goa and Malacca, and for a century enjoyed the monopoly of the trade with India. At the close of the sixteenth century the Dutch and the English appeared as their rivals. The Dutch obtained a foothold in the Indian archipelago. The English East India Company, chartered by Elizabeth in 1600, built Madras in the Carnatic (1639), obtained Bombay from Charles II. (1668), who had acquired it from Portugal by his marriage with Catharine of Braganza; and settled Calcutta on the river Hoogly (1696). The French had a strong settlement at Pondicherry in the Carnatic, south of Madras. Since the Peace of Aachen, 1748, a rivalry existed between the English and the French colonists in India. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, was the first to organize the sepoys, native soldiers drilled after the

European fashion. In the succession disputes of the native princes, Dupleix selected his own candidates and supported them with his sepoys, and thus made himself the most powerful potentate in the Carnatic and in the whole of the Deccan. Dupleix next threatened Madras. Robert Clive, a young officer of the East India Company, took up the contest, conquered Arcot at the head of a force of sepoys, won a number of victories over the French and their Indian allies, and established English supremacy in southeastern India, 1752–53.

130. The Black Hole of Calcutta and the Battle of Plassey. — In 1756 the viceroy of Bengal (Surajah Dowlah), captured Calcutta, seized all the property of the English, and thrust 146 Englishmen into the Black Hole of Calcutta, a room measuring only 18 feet by 14. During that day and the following night all but 23 were suffocated. The tragedy was followed by the complete expulsion of the English from Bengal. Clive, now governor of Fort St. David, near Madras, proceeded with an English fleet to Bengal at the head of 900 Europeans and about 2,000 sepoys, and retook Calcutta. By the valor of the army, and by a treacherous understanding with the viceroy's chief officer (Meer Jaffier), Clive won a great victory at Plassey over 60,000 men commanded by Surajah Dowlah. The defeated viceroy was murdered by traitors, and Clive raised Meer Jaffier, his creature, to the position of nominal Nabob. Under Clive as governor-general of all the English possessions in Bengal, the English virtually exercised an absolute rule over a country containing 30,000,000 inhabitants.

131. The French Lose India. — While these events were happening in Bengal, the struggle for empire in India was decided in the Carnatic, where it had begun. When the Seven Years' war broke out in 1756, France selected Count Lally Tolendal to restore the French power in India. Lally was descended from an Irish Jacobite family, and had distinguished himself at Fontenoy and elsewhere. After two years lost by delays, Lally arrived, 1758, with an army in the Carnatic. Within five weeks he took Fort St. David, the second in importance of the English strongholds, and razed it to the ground. The fall of Madras would have been a matter of certainty if Lally had been properly supported. But his

impetuous temper, his sharp tongue, and the energy with which he fought the frightful corruption prevalent among the officials at Pondicherry, alienated the local authorities, whilst he made enemies of the natives by his ignorance and disregard of their most cherished customs. The French admiral refused to convey his troops to Madras, and the governor failed to furnish him the necessary funds. By sheer energy and the sacrifice of his private fortune, he finally succeeded in reaching Madras, but it was too late. Upon the approach of the English squadron with reinforcements and stores from Bombay he had to raise the siege, 1759. In 1760 the French were defeated by Colonel Coote at Wandewash with a loss of about 2,000 Europeans. Having to contend with mutiny in his ill-provisioned army, and with the opposition of the civil officials, Lally was unable to prevent the French minor forts from falling one by one into the hands of the English. In January, 1761, Pondicherry surrendered at discretion, and with the surrender French dominion in India ceased.

Lally was condemned by the Parliament of Paris for having betrayed the interests of the King. The judicial murder was accompanied by outrageous indignities. It was not till 1778 that his son by his filial devotion and great eloquence succeeded in reversing the sentence and vindicating the honor of his father.

132. The War in Canada. — When William Pitt acceded to power he resolved to fight out his quarrel with France in the colonies, especially in North America, and to drive the French from the continent. For this purpose he sent a powerful fleet to America and raised the number of the English and colonial forces to 50,000, of whom 22,000 were regular troops. The entire French population capable of bearing arms amounted to 20,000, of whom only 5,000 were regulars. Canada, abandoned by the worthless Louis XV., was suffering from famine, for the inhabitants had alternately to fight and to till the ground.

133. The Marquis of Montcalm. — But in the Marquis of Montcalm the Canadians had a governor and commander of restless energy, dauntless courage and high-souled chivalry, who was adored by the army and by the people. For a long time he held his own

against superior forces by skillful strategy and strong positions, by concentrating his slender resources on some one point and by the employment of Indian allies. Montcalm in 1756 captured and destroyed Fort Oswego and Fort George, and seized in the latter place part of the English war treasury. The following year he constructed a system of forts in the region of Illinois, and captured Fort William Henry. In 1758 Abercrombie, the British commander-in-chief, marched upon Ticonderoga with 16,000 men. Before reaching the fortress the vanguard under General Howe was defeated, and Lord Howe himself killed. Montcalm directed the defense of the place in his shirt-sleeves, everywhere encouraging his men, who numbered less than 4,000. Charge after charge was repulsed, until the English were obliged to retreat with a loss of 2,000 men. But disasters now began to overtake the French on every side.

134. The Conquest of Canada. — Even before the action of Ticonderoga, Louisburg and Cape Breton Island, the French Gibraltar at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, had been taken by General Amherst. General Forbes seized Fort du Quesne, which in honor of William Pitt was named Pittsburg. In 1759 Sir William Johnston took Fort Niagara and Amherst Ticonderoga. The decisive battle was fought near Quebec. Major-General James Wolfe, a young and gallant officer, fought his way up the St. Lawrence, and besieged Quebec. Though manoeuvering with admirable skill around the defenses, Wolfe had almost given up all hope of succeeding, when he resolved on a last, desperate feat. He scaled with his men a steep cliff to the Plains of Abraham, an elevated plateau behind Quebec, and forced Montcalm to accept open battle. Both generals fell gallantly. Montcalm had still time to receive the last sacraments. Wolfe, informed of the victory, expired with the words: "God be praised, I die in peace." A last French victory in the neighborhood of Quebec, 1760, could not save Canada, betrayed, as she was, by her wretched King and his ministers. Montreal, the second important town in the St. Lawrence Valley, surrendered in the same year, and with Montreal, Canada.

"No other conquest of the war excited a greater enthusiasm in England. Englishmen did not foresee the consequences of their victory. The destruc-

tion of the French power in America removed the *one ever-pressing danger which secured the dependence of the English colonies on the mother country*. The great colonial forces raised and successfully employed during the war gave the colonies for the first time a consciousness of their strength, and furnished them with leaders for the War of Independence, while the burden of the debt due to the lavish expenditure of Pitt revived the scheme for the taxation of America, which led in a few years to the dismemberment of the Empire." (Lecky.)

(India) Lecky: II. 8, 495-96; 541-49. — Stewart: *Hist. of Bengal.* — Orme: *Hist. of the Military Operations in Hindostan.* — J. G. Duff: *Hist. of the Mahrattas.* — J. Mill: *Hist. of Brit. India.* — E. Thornlow: *Hist. of the British Emp. in India.* — Lord Justice James: *The British in India.* — Malleson: *Hist. of the French in India; Founders of the Indian Empire; Decisive Battles of India.* — Dupleix (Literature in Martin's Hist. of France); E. H. R. 9, 1, 4. — *Count Lally:* E. H. R. 6, 3. — *Lives of Lord Clive;* Gleig; Macaulay (*Essays*); Malcolm; Wilson.

(Canada) Lecky: II. 8, p. 539. — Hart: *The Fall of New France.* — Parkham: *Montcalm and Wolfe.* — Warburton: *Conquest of Canada.*

§ 5.

POLITICAL CHANGES AND TREATIES OF PEACE.

135. The Family Compact. — The successive deaths of three sovereigns wrought political changes that disturbed existing alliances and created new combinations. The death of Ferdinand VI. in Spain and the succession of Charles III. reunited France and Spain by the Family Compact. The death of George II. led to the fall of Pitt and the reversal of his war policy. The death of Elizabeth of Russia freed Frederic II. from one of his most formidable enemies, and saved his kingdom

Ferdinand VII. of Spain died in 1759. His half-brother Don Carlos, King of Naples, leaving his Italian Kingdom to his son, ascended the throne of Spain as Charles III. Choiseul, the minister of Louis XV., negotiated a Family Compact between the four Bourbon courts of France, of Spain, of Naples, and of Parma, by which each promised to make common cause against any enemy, and to guarantee each other's possessions. The Compact was signed August 15, 1761. By a secret clause attached to it Spain pledged herself to declare war against England on May 1, 1762, if England by that time should not have concluded peace with France. Choiseul promised Spain the restoration of Minorca as soon as war should be declared.

Several other disputed points, such as the possession of Gibraltar and the rights of trade in the Indies were pending between Spain and England. Charles III. was the more willing to go to war with England as he had been insulted when still King of Naples by an English Admiral.

136. Fall of Pitt. — George II. died in 1760, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III., who had early lost his father, Frederic, Prince of Wales. Prince George had been instructed by the Earl of Bute in an extravagant view of the royal prerogative. As the favorite of George III. Bute formed a new party, whose aim it was to reassert the King's prerogatives by breaking up the Whig nobility and by weakening the influence of Parliament. But as Pitt, had his strength in the Parliament and in his brilliant war record the new party was hostile to the war, because it was hostile to Pitt. The Tories who resented their long exclusion from power, supported the new party in a body. The dissensions and personal jealousies within the ministry, and Pitt's arrogant treatment of his colleagues weakened his own position. The Family Compact, of which Pitt had received secret intelligence, brought the contest of the parties to an issue. Pitt demanded an immediate declaration of war, before Spain should be ready. The majority of the Cabinet voted against him. Thereupon Pitt resigned and his resignation was accepted by the King.

Three months later the attitude of Spain became so threatening, that Bute himself was compelled to declare war. The English successes in Martinique, Havana, and Manila in the Philippine islands were still due to the arrangement of Pitt and the enthusiastic spirit which he had infused into the English service.

137. The Treaties of Petersburg and Hamburg, 1762. — The fall of Pitt deprived Frederic of the alliance and the magnificent subsidies of England. His own army was reduced to 60,000 men, most of them demoralized, its gaps filled with vagabonds, thieves and deserters, all ripe for mutiny. One half of his territories was in the hands of the enemy. But the death of Elizabeth of Russia saved him and his kingdom.

Elizabeth died January 5, 1762, the day England declared war against Spain. Her successor, Peter III., in his admiration of Frederic, concluded with him not only the Peace of Petersburg (March, 1762), but also an offensive and defensive alliance. By

the former he restored all the conquered territories to Prussia; by the latter he recalled the troops from the Austrian camp and ordered them to join the Prussian army. The change of Russia induced Sweden to come to terms with Frederic by the Peace of Hamburg (May, 1762), which restored the condition existing before the war. Peter's reign was of short duration. In less than six months he exhausted the patience of his subjects by his unpopular introduction of Prussian reforms. One morning he was arrested, in the evening he was murdered. His wife, Catharine, reaped all the fruit of the crime by proclaiming herself not regent for her son, but Empress of Russia in her own authority. Catharine kept the peace with Prussia, but recalled her troops.

138. The Last Campaign of the Seven Years' War, 1762.— Under the altered circumstances Austria gave up the idea of reconquering the whole of Silesia, and restricted her efforts to the preservation of the actual conquests. Her resources were exhausted, her people taxed to the utmost. Frederic for the first time since 1758 took the initiative in the campaign of 1762. He marched against Daun who was encamped in the neighborhood of Schweidnitz. Czernechew had just received Catharine's order to return to Russia. Frederic prevailed on the Russian general to remain with him for three days to deceive the Austrians about the strength of the attacking army. Czernechew remained but took no part in the battle. Frederic concentrated his efforts to storm the heights of Burkersdorf and succeeded, (July). The Austrian army retreated towards the Silesian frontiers, and Frederic reconquered Schweidnitz after a lengthy siege. He then concluded a truce first with Marshal Daun and afterwards with the Austrians in Saxony, who had been defeated by Prince Henry at Freiberg. The preliminaries of the peace between France and England, agreed to at Fontainebleau, made it certain that the French troops would be withdrawn from Germany.

139. Peace of Paris, February 16, 1763. — The definite peace between Great Britain, France and Spain was concluded at Paris. France ceded to England in Europe, the island of Minorca; in Africa, her possessions on the Senegal; in America, Canada,

Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island with all other possessions and claims east of the Mississippi except New Orleans; besides Grenada in the West Indies. The navigation of the Mississippi was declared free.

England restored to France Goree in Africa; in Asia, all her conquests in India, but under restrictions which rendered the restoration of little value. The French were to build no fortifications and to maintain no troops in Bengal. They had to recognize the Nabobs whom England set up as nominal rulers. In America England granted to France the right of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence at the distance of three leagues from the shore and the use of two small and open islands as a shelter for their fishermen.

England restored to Spain in Oceania Manila and the Philippine Islands; in America, Havana and the rest of the Cuban conquests in exchange for Florida. Outside of the treaty of Paris, France indemnified Spain for the loss of Florida by the cession of New Orleans and of all Louisiana west of the Mississippi. Both France and England had to withdraw their troops from Germany.

140. Peace of Hubertsburg, February 15, 1763. — The Peace of Paris left Austria to face Prussia alone, and led to a treaty of peace signed in the Saxon castle of Hubertsburg. The Peace established the status quo ante bellum, i. e. Frederic retained Silesia and Glatz and evacuated Saxony. In addition Prussia promised to cast her vote in the imperial election for Archduke Joseph, the son of Maria Theresa. Saxony, restored to the state before the war, was included in the peace. The Seven Years' War raised England to the summit of her territorial extent and power, made Prussia a rival of Austria in Germany about equal in strength and one of the Great Powers of Europe, and destroyed the colonial, naval, and commercial greatness of France.

141. Pontiac War. — The English encountered great difficulties in taking actual possession of the fortresses scattered here and there along the great lakes. The Indians, under the celebrated Pontiac, the patriotic chief of the Ottowas, offered determined resistance, partly on account of their friendliness to the French, their benefactors, partly on account of the insults and

cruel treatment they received at the hands of the English. The Indians got possession of all the minor forts between Canada and the Mississippi. But failing in the siege of Detroit and of some other places and ascertaining the conclusion of a general peace, they dispersed.

Lecky: IV. 10, pp. 1-67. *The Family Compact of the House of Bourbon:* Seely, E. H. R. 1, 1. — *Hist. of the Reign of Peter III. and Cath. II.* — *Lives of Catharine II.:* — Brückner (Germ.); Jenkins (Heroines of Hist.); E. R. '93, 3. — *Text of the Treaty of Paris in* Entick: *Hist. of the Late War.* — *The Treaty of Paris, 1763, and the Catholics of Am.* O'Sullivan, C. A. Q. 10.

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CONTEST BETWEEN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA.

Wars.	*Parties in Conflict.*	*Military Operations.*	*Treaties of Peace.*
1. **THE LAST HUGUENOT WAR** about *La Rochelle*, 1627–32.	*Charles I.* (*Buckingham*). *Louis XIII.* (*Richelieu*).	Canadian Campaign: *Capture of Quebec*, 1629 (*Louis* and *Thos. Kirk*).	**PEACE OF ST. GERMAIN,** 1632. New France: *Canada* and *Acadia*, recogn. as *French* possessions by England.
2. **ANGLO-DUTCH NAVIGATION WAR,** 1652–54.	*Oliver Cromwell*, Protector, and the Dutch Republic, (John de Witt).	*Conquest of Acadia*, 1655 (*Sedgwick*). *Acadia* an English province, 1655–67.	
3. American cause of the **FIRST ANGLO-DUTCH WAR** of Charles II., 1665–67.	*Charles II.*, allied with *Louis XIV.* ag. Holland (*John de Witt*).	Bloodless conquest of *New Amsterdam* and *New Netherlands*, 1664.	**PEACE OF BREDA,** 1667. Engl. retained *New York, N. Jersey and Delaware;* restored *Acadia* to France.
4. **SECOND ANGLO-DUTCH WAR** of *Charles II.*, 1672-74.		New Netherlands reconquered by a Dutch squadron.	**PEACE OF WESTMINSTER,** 1674. New York, etc., restored to England.
5. **KING WILLIAM'S WAR; 1689-90 and 1696–97;** in Europe; *War of the Palatine Succession*, 1689–97.	*William III.*, supported by the *Five Nations*. *Louis XIV.*, supported by the Indians of Canada and Maine.	Conquest and Reconquest of *Acadia*. Border and Indian warfare. Unsuccessful expeditions against *Quebec* and *Montreal* (*Phips; Leisler*).	**PEACE OF RYSWICK,** 1797. Mutual restoration of conquests. International Boundary Commission. *Peace of Montreal*, 1701. Treaty of Peace and Amity betw. the Five Nations and France.

6. **QUEEN ANNE'S WAR, 1703–1712;** in Europe: *War of the Spanish Succession,* 1701-1713.	France and Spain (*Louis XIV.* and *Philip V.*) ag. England and her colonies. N. Y. and the Five Nations neutral.	Indian and border warfare, north and south. (*Moore,* gov. of S. C.). A French and Spanish Invasion of S. C. repulsed (*Barnwell*). Capture of *Port Royal* (henceforth *Annapolis*). 1710.	**PEACE OF UTRECHT,** 1713, secured *Nova Scotia* (*Acadia*), the *Hudson Bay and Straits* and *Newfoundl.* fisheries to England. The *Acadians* granted freedom of worship and immunity from the oblig. of fighting ag. the French.
7. **KING GEORGE'S WAR,** 1744–48; in Europe: *War of the Austrian Succession,* 1740–48.	*George II.*, allied with *Maria Theresa. Louis XV.* all. with *Frederic II.*	Capture of *Louisburg* and *Cape Breton Isl.* by colonial troops (*Wm. Pepperell;* Commodore *Warren*).	**PEACE OF AACHEN,** 1748. Restoration of *Louisburg* and *Cape Breton Island* to France.
8. **OLD FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, 1754–56,** preliminary to the *Seven Years' War,* 1756–63.	*George II.* allied with *Frederic II.* ag. *Louis XV.* all. with *Maria Theresa.* American causes: (1) Unsettled boundary question; (2) Military occupation of Louisiana by France; (3) Rivalry for Empire in America; (4) The Ohio dispute.	Fight about *Ft. Du Quesne. Great Meadows,* (**WASHINGTON**), 1754. Ruthless expulsion of the *Acadians.* Battle of *Ft. Du Quesne* (*Braddock's* defeat). B. of *Lake George,* 1755.	Rest of the War and final settlement see: Seven Years' War.

WARS IN CENTRAL AND WESTERN EUROPE.— *Continued.*

IV. THIRD SILESIAN OR SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1756-1763.

Causes.— 1. The war between *France* and *England* in *North America* (see p. 66) and at sea (conquest of *Minorca by France*).

2. Rivalry of the two Powers for Empire in *East India* since the *Peace of Aachen*. *Dupleix* at *Pondicherry*. *Clive* in *Madras* and *Bengal*. Conquest of *Arcot* by Clive (1751–54). His victory at **PLASSY** gave him absolute power in Bengal.

3. The *Treaties of Versailles* and *Westminster*.

4. The knowledge of *Frederic II.* that *Maria Theresa* was planning a reconquest of *Silesia*.

5. The personal animosity of **CZARINA ELISABETH** against *Frederic II.*

Alliances and Political Changes.	*Campaigns.*	*Battles.*	*Victories of:*
MARIA THERESA supported by the greater part of the Empire and allied with *Czarina Elisabeth*, succeeds, through *Kaunitz*, to obtain the alliance of France, and through France, that of *Sweden*. *Treaties of Versailles*, 1756–57.	1756.—1. Invasion of *Saxony* by 60,000 Prussians under *Frederic II.* Later the Saxons capitulated at *Pirna*. 2. In *Canada*: *Forts Oswego* and *George* taken by *Montcalm*.	*Lobositz* (drawn battle).	*Fred. II.*; *Marshal Brown*.
	1757.—1. In *Bohemia* and *Silesia*. Invasion of *Bohemia* by Fred. Frederic driven into Silesia. Conquest of *Breslau* by the Austrians.	*Prague*. **KOLLIN.**	*Fred. II.* over *Brown*. *Marshal Daun* over *Frederic*.

George II. at war with France in America, passes over to **FREDERIC II.**, to protect Hanover ag. France. *Treaties of Westminster*, 1756–57. Frederic's German allies: *Hanover, Brunswick, Hesse, etc.*	2. In *Germany*: Conquest of *Hanover*, *Brunswick* and *Hesse* by the French.	*Hastenbeck.*	*D'Estrées* over *D. of Cumberland.*
	East Prussia.	*Grossjägerndorf*	Russ. victory of *Apraxin.*
	Near Lützen.	*Rossbach.*	*Fred.* over *French* and *Imp'l* troops.
	3. *In Silesia:* Reconquest of *Breslau and all Silesia.*	*Leuthen.*	*Fred.*ov. *Austrians.*
	4. *In Canada:* Fort *William Henry* taken by *Montcalm.*		
In England, **PITT** (*Earl of Chatham*) was the leading promoter of the war, organizing England's colonial successes.	1758.—1. Invasion of *Moravia* by Fred.; expelled by *Daun* and *Laudon.*		
	2. *Prussia.*	*Crefeld.*	*Ferd. of Brunswick* over *French.*
		Zorndorf.	*Fred.*over*Russians.*
	3. Frederic maintained himself in *Saxony* and *Silesia* in spite of his defeat at:	*Hochkirch.*	*Daun* over *Frederic.*
	4. *In Canada: Montcalm's* victorious campaign around *Ticonderoga.* Fall of *Louisburg.*		
	5. *In East India:* Victorious campaign of Lally Tolendal against the English.		
The accession of *Don Carlos*, K. of the *Two Sicilies* as *Charles III. of Spain*, 1759–1788, was followed by the *Family Compact* of the *Bourbon Courts*,	1759.—1. Desultory warfare of the French in Germany.	*Minden.*	*Ferd. of Brunswick* over the *French.*
	2. Union of the Austrians and the Russians on the Oder near *Frankfort.*	**KUNERSDORF.**	*Fred. II.* routed by *Daun & Solticow.*

WARS IN CENTRAL AND WESTERN EUROPE. — *Continued.*

(*France, Spain, Naples, Parma*) guaranteeing each other's possessions against any foe, 1761.	3. Frederic loses *Dresden* and part of *Saxony* and *Silesia*.	*Maxen.*	*Daun* } Over
		Landeshut.	*Laudon* } Russians.
	4. *In Canada:* Fall of *Quebec, Montreal* and *all Canada* (1759–60).	**PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.**	*Wolfe* over *Montcalm.*
	5. *In East India: Lally Tolendal* forced to raise the siege of *Madras.*		
The accession of *George III.*, 1760-1820, and the resignation of Pitt, 1761, deprived Frederic of the English subsidies. Frederic in great distress. The Family Compact led to a war between *England* and *Spain*, 1762–63.	1760.—1. Campaign in *Silesia.*	*Liegnitz.*	*Frederic* } *Laudon.*
		Torgau.	over } *Daun.*
	2. *In Western Germany:* Desultory warfare.		
	3. *In India.*	**WANDEWASH**	English over French.
The death of *Elisabeth*, 1762, proved the salvation of Frederic. Her successor, *Peter III.*, 1762 (till July), concluded *peace and an alliance* with Frederic. Deposition and assassination of *Peter III.* *Catharine II.* sole Ruler, 1762–1796. Catharine maintained the peace but dropped the alliance.	1761.—1. In Europe: Desultory warfare; the Powers exhausted.		
	2. In India: *Fall of Pondicherry.* End of French dominion in India.		
	1762.—In *Silesia:* During Peter's short reign, the Russians joined the Prussians. Withdrawn by *Catharine II.* they remained in the Prussian camp during the battle of	*Burkersdorf.*	*Frederic* over *Daun.*
		Freiberg.	*Prince Henry* over *Austrians.*

Treaties of Peace.— 1. **PEACE OF PETERSBURG** between *Fred. II.* and *Peter III.*, 1762. Restoration of all the Russian conquests.

2. **PEACE OF HAMBURG** between *Prussia* and *Sweden*, 1762. Restoration of the status quo ante bellum.

3. **PEACE OF PARIS,** 1763, between *Great Britain*, *France* and *Spain*.

   a. *France* ceded to *England:* Minorca, Senegal, *Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island,* all claims *east of the Mississippi* (free navigation) and New Grenada (West Indies).

   b. *England* to *France:* Goree in Africa, all East Indian conquests, but under severe restrictions; right of fishing on the *Newfoundland coast* in the *Gulf of St. Lawrence.*

   c. *England* to *Spain:* Manila and the Philippines, Havana and other Cuban conquests in exchange for *Florida.*

   d. The peace-makers ordered the withdrawal of all French and English troops from Germany. *Outside of the Peace of Paris, France* indemnified *Spain* for the loss of *Florida* by the cession of *New Orleans* and of all *Louisiana* west of the Mississippi.

4. **PEACE OF HUBERTSBURG,** 1765, between *Austria* and *Prussia*. Status quo ante bellum. *Frederic II.* retained *Silesia* and *Glatz*, restored *Saxony*, and promised his electoral vote to *Joseph II.*

General Results of the War.— 1. England attained her greatest extension and power.

2. Prussia became one of the great Powers and Austria's rival.

3. France was stripped of her colonial greatness.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DIVISION OF POLAND.

§ 1.

THE POLISH SUCCESSION.

142. State of Poland in the 18th Century. — The elective kingdom or rather republic of Poland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was groaning under the most anarchical constitution of Europe: 1,500,000 nobles held the entire population attached to the soil in servitude. All the members of this democratic nobility stood on a footing of legal equality. No decree proposed in the diet could become a law except by the unanimous consent of the nuncios or deputies. The Liberum Veto of a single member could frustrate the votes of all the rest. The Liberum Veto had destroyed the work of forty-eight out of fifty-five diets within the space of 110 years. In any dissension of votes the minority claimed the right of resisting by a private confederation in arms. The kingship was not only elective, but was conditioned at the commencement of each reign, by a special agreement called the Pacta Conventa. These three institutions — Liberum Veto, Private Confederations, and Pacta Conventa were a continual source of political disturbance. The king was served by a vast crowd of undisciplined cavaliers. The "starosties" or certain administrative and judicial privileges in the gift of the crown, were the only ties which bound the king to the nobles and the soldiers. Ardent though misguided patriotism, inborn attachment to the liberties of the country, fervent religious sentiment and respect for the authority of the Church were the elements that supplied the absence of political union, and in spite of frequent civil strife, retarded the final dissolution.

143. Encroachments of Neighboring States. — It is said that Peter the Great in his testament pointed out to his successors, how Poland could be brought under Russian supremacy by the encouragement of internal dissensions. In the war of the Polish Succession Poland herself had very little to say, while Austrian and especially Russian troops lorded it in the kingdom. In the war of the Austrian Succession Poland was little more than a camping ground for the Muscovite forces. The frequent marches through and prolonged sojourns of the Russians in Poland, the levying of war contributions and the pressing of Polish recruits into Russian service may be

called the beginning of Poland's downfall. True, Stanislas Lesczinski had, by his appeals to the national sentiment, formed a party of patriots willing to reform the constitutional abuses. But Elizabeth of Russia thwarted such efforts by the threat to resist with force of arms any change in the Polish constitution.

144. Election of Poniatowski. — At the accession of Catharine, Augustus III. of Saxony, king of Poland, was already sick; he died in October, 1763. The death of his son in the same year destroyed all hope of the House of Saxony to retain the Polish crown. To control the election of the new king, Catharine of Russia and Frederic II. concluded a treaty, in which they pledged themselves to secure the crown to Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski and to prevent any change in the Polish government and constitution. Still more treacherous was another clause of the treaty, by which they bound themselves to protect the Greek and Protestant "Dissidents" against the "oppression" of the Catholic Church. Accordingly, the Russian party of Polish nobles designated Poniatowski as crown candidate.

Poniatowski, one of Catharine's former lovers, a polished courtier and a shallow freethinker, had given assurances to the Empress that he would treat the interests of Russia as his own.

In order to make the election of Poniatowski doubly sure, Catharine surrounded the Polish territories with her troops, sent 10,000 men into Poland, furnished her ambassador with immense sums to bribe the electors, and instructed him to intimidate them with threats of her dire vengeance if they should fail to elect her candidate. The patriots in the diet of Warsaw were divided and despondent. Their candidates, General Braniçki and Prince Radziwill, protested against the coercion of the Diet already invaded by foreign soldiers. A rising in their favor failed, and they had to flee as proscribed exiles and rebels. Sept. 7, 1764, the Diet proclaimed Poniatowski King of Poland under the name of Stanislas Augustus.

145. The Religious Question. — Catharine, who prosecuted both Catholics and Protestants in Russia, proclaimed herself in the name of the sacred rights of mankind the protectress of the Polish Dissidents.

The Greek and Protestant Dissidents in Poland were not numerous. They enjoyed freedom from persecution. They enjoyed the greatest freedom and security for their persons and property. Their political disabilities were fewer than in any other country in Europe. Many dissenting noblemen acknowledged their satisfaction with the existing state, and urged their Catholic countrymen not to grant the demands of the two Powers, because this religious agitation would ultimately subject Poland to foreign domination.

The first diets under Stanislas Augustus refused to alter the religious state of the country. In 1766 Catharine and Frederic II. instructed Stanislas to put all religions on the same footing. They expected a refusal, for the Poles clung to religious unity as to the last bond of their political unity. Stanislas pleaded in vain for time, he was finally obliged to summon a diet in October, 1766, to listen to the demands of Russia. Whilst the efforts of the patriots to limit the Liberum Veto were defeated, the diet granted only slight concessions to the Dissidents. So great was the excitement that the king himself was obliged to issue a declaration in support of the Catholic cause. This declaration furnished Catharine a pretext for withdrawing her protection from him.

146. **Diet of 1767.** — A number of patriots, the exiled Radziwill among them, conceived the fatal idea of approaching Russia in their turn. The Empress received them graciously. An association of all the opponents of Stanislas was formed at Radom under the direction of the Russian embassador Repnin. Confronted by this new combination the king sued for mercy and declared himself willing to carry out Catharine's orders.

At the Diet of Warsaw, 1767, Repnin carried things with a high hand; 120,000 Russians were at his disposal; a Prussian army stood in Polish Prussia under pretext of a "sanitary" cordon. Every deputy in the Diet had to sign a promise in no way to oppose the Russian demands. The soldiers charged with obtaining the signatures, had orders to fire the palaces or devastate the estates of the recusants. The bishop of Cracow and others who remonstrated in open diet against such violence, were seized at night by a squadron of Cossacks and hurried off to Siberia. In such way was carried the measure which destroyed the ecclesiastical unity of Poland.

De Broglie: *The King's Secret* (chiefly about the Partition of Poland). — J. Janssen: *Zur Genesis d. ersten Theilung Polens.* — Dumouriez: *Mémoires.* — Wolski: *Poland.*

§ 2.

THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND.

147. The Confederation of Bar. — To destroy the Catholic religion and to substitute a schismatical synod was now Catharine's aim. Repnin had already expelled the Catholic priests from 300 villages. Clement XIII. solemnly protested, and ordered public processions in Rome for the protection of Poland. The Poles rose in defense of their faith. Eight gentlemen unknown to fame formed a Confederation at the small town of Bar in Podolia, February, 1768. Their motto was: aut vincere aut mori pro religione et libertate. Their banner bore a crucifix and the image of the Blessed Virgin. The movement spread with incredible rapidity, and in a few days numbered many thousands of adherents. Envoys were sent to Versailles, Vienna, Constantinople, and other courts. The civil war between the Confederation and Stanislas, who had the support of Russia, was raging with the utmost bitterness, when Turkey declared war against Russia. Her territory had been trespassed by Russian troops in pursuit of Polish fugitives. But unfortunately the Turks were as slow to mobilize as they were quick in declaring war, and the brunt of the unequal contest fell upon the Confederates. The Zaporegian Cossacks let loose upon the plain of the Ukraine, "in honor of the holy orthodox church" (of Russia) spread terror far and wide by their horrible outrages.

Men, women, and children were massacred; 16,000 defenseless people were slaughtered alone at the town of Human. Several hundred Catholics were buried in the ground up to their necks and their heads *mowed off*. Persons whose faith was suspected were compelled to clear themselves by murdering Catholic nobles and priests. Not less outrageous was the treatment of the Confederates by the Russian regulars, who tied their prisoners of war to trees to serve as marks for the sharpshooters, or bound them with chains into groups to be killed with pikes, or lopped off their hands and then chased them across the fields until they sank bleeding to death.

Before the spring of 1769 the remnants of the Confederates were driven to take refuge on Othoman or Austrian territory.

148. Catharine's First War with the Turks, 1768–1774. — When at length the Turkish troops took the field they

were routed in almost every encounter. The loss of Azow, Bender, and other fortresses, the complete reduction of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the destruction of the Turkish fleet in the waters of Tschesmé, off the island of Chios, destroyed the prestige of Turkey, gave to Russia the political and military greatness she still enjoys, and crushed the last hopes of Polish liberty.

149. Position of Austria.— Joseph II., 1765–1790, had, by the death of his father, become Emperor and coregent with Maria Theresa in the Austrian monarchy. Since 1770 Joseph's influence in the affairs of government began to rise, his mother's to wane. Inch by inch she yielded, though with constant misgivings, to the restless ambition of her son. In her sincere religious faith she warmly sympathized with the Catholic Poles, and her conscience revolted from the idea of deriving a personal advantage from Poland. But her son, Joseph II., infected with the false philosophy of the eighteenth century, looked up to Frederic II., and copied his policy and methods. Kaunitz temporized between the mother and the son, but usually ended with adopting Joseph's views.

The victorious advance of Russia, especially the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia caused great anxiety at the court of Vienna, and induced Austria to place a military cordon along the frontiers of Hungary and Transilvania, and temporarily to occupy a strip of Polish territory, to which, however, Hungary had an undisputed claim. Frederic II. also, pledged as he was to subsidize Russia during the war's duration, was anxious to see it ended. Hence in a meeting at Neustadt between Frederic II., Joseph II., and Kaunitz, 1770, an agreement was reached to mediate a peace between Russia and Turkey on the basis of a restoration of Moldavia and Wallachia by Russia. No mention, as yet, was made of a partition of Poland. After the meeting the Austrian cordon was pushed a few miles further into Polish territory.

150. First Division of Poland. — Frederic II., in paying subsidies and offering to mediate a peace, was steadily pursuing his own advantage. Now that he saw Poland in a state of anarchy, the Confederates quarreling among themselves, and Stanislas barely escaped from the hands of the insurgents, he moved his "sanitary" cordon twenty miles nearer to Warsaw. He now came forward with his own plan of pacification.

Frederic proposed that Austria, Russia, and Prussia should give their services to Stanislas and take their pay in the partial dismem-

berment of Poland. Russia should restore the Danube Principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia) to the Porte for an equivalent to be carved out of the kingdom of Poland. Prussia should recompense herself for the subsidies paid by the annexation of Polish Prussia. To keep up the equilibrium between the three Powers, Austria should take a share equal in value to those of Russia and Prussia. It was a plan of barefaced robbery. When first broached in Vienna, in 1771, Austria answered that rather than consent to such injustice, they would withdraw their troops from the Polish districts — less than twenty square miles — whilst the proposed annexations comprised 4,000 square miles. Accordingly, the Partition Treaty was concluded by Russia and Prussia alone, February, 1772. In view of the great increase of territory and the consequent preponderance of power thus obtained by the two states, Joseph II. and Kaunitz resolved to become accomplices in the deal, and to take their share in the partition, August, 1772. It was with intense reluctance that Maria Theresa consented. Russia obtained a great part of Lithuania and other Polish districts; Austria the provinces of Gallicia and Lodomeria, and Frederic II. Polish Prussia (without Dantzig and Thorn), smaller in extent than the other shares, but possessing for Prussia a value out of all proportion to its area, because it united the detached province of East Prussia with the main body of the kingdom into a compact state. The three Powers guaranteed to each other these new possessions. They then put down the Confederation of Bar, and procured by bribery and intimidation the election of a diet, which joined King Stanislas in signing away the integrity of Poland. After this enforced ratification, both Frederic II. and Joseph II. overstepped the stipulated bounds so far that Poland lost an additional number of 64,000 inhabitants.

151. **Peace of Kutchouc-Kainardji, 1774.**— The war between Russia and Turkey had been lagging since the conquest of the Crimea in 1771. Whilst Prussia and Austria urged Catharine to make peace, a last success of the Russians, who surrounded the Grand Vizier at Shumla, forced Turkey to accept the terms proposed by the Powers.

In the Peace of Kainardji Russia restored the Danube Principalities and some other conquests to Turkey, but retained part of the Crimea and of the northern coast of the Black Sea. The Tartars of Crimea

and elsewhere were released from their allegiance to the Porte, and brought under Russian influence. The Russians secured the right of free navigation in all Turkish waters for their merchant fleet, and a strong diplomatic position at Constantinople including the right of representing the interests of the Danube Principalities, of remonstrating against Turkish misrule in Christian provinces and of protecting the Christians in Turkey.

152. Revolution in Sweden. — The government in Sweden, where the House of Holstein-Gottorp succeeded in 1751, was, since the death of Charles XII., in the hands of a diet composed of four Chambers, and divided into hostile factions. By a clause of the secret treaty, which had brought about the dissolution of Poland, Frederic II. and Catharine had bound themselves to maintain this constitution and to encourage the frequent disturbances caused by the quarreling factions. The young king, Gustavus III., saw the danger. Immediately after the partition of Poland he took his course. Mounting his horse early one morning, he called out his devoted officers and his guard, and so sudden and so spirited was his action, that without violence or bloodshed he arrested the senators and deputies in the palace of the States, dissolved their assemblies, and substituted a moderate constitution for the state of anarchy which had hitherto prevailed. He spoiled, however, a reign, which promised well in the beginning, by his adherence to the impious principles of the new philosophy.

Lecky, v. ch. 21. pp. 539-42. v. Sybel: *First Partition of Poland; Fortnightly Review*, 74, 3. — Broglie: *The King's Secret.* — Weiss, v. 13. — Wolski: *Poland.*

§ 3.

THE FALL OF POLAND.

153. Second Turkish War of Catharine II., 1787-92. — Amid all the excesses of an abandoned and shameless life, Catharine II. did more for the material improvement of her subjects than any of her predecessors, whilst she continued her unscrupulous policy of external aggrandizement. In 1787, she gained possession of the whole of the Crimea by a treaty with the Khan of the Tartars. Joseph II., too, had a restless craving for new territory. After the Peace of Kainardji he annexed that part of Moldavia which is now called the Bukowina, 1775. His attempt to seize the greater part of Bavaria, when the reigning House died out in 1778 was frustrated by the armed interference and diplomatic resistance of Frederic II. (Bloodless War of the Bavarian Succession). The death of Maria Theresa in 1780, and Joseph's accession to full power, completely changed the friendly policy which the Empress-queen had observed towards Turkey. Joseph II. became an admirer and ally of Catharine II. and assisted her in grasping the Crimea. The death

of Frederic II. in 1786 strengthened this alliance, which was cemented by a personal meeting of the two monarchs during Catharine's triumphal progress through the Crimea. Catharine now resolved to drive the Turks from Europe and to found a Greek Empire in Constantinople. Joseph agreed to support the plan. But whilst the Russians stormed Oczacow amidst scenes of appalling carnage, took Bender and other cities, and defeated the Turks in several battles by land and sea, the Austrians with 200,000 men in the field were for a long time wholly unsuccessful. The taking of Belgrade (1789) by Laudon, the hero of the Seven Years' War, was almost the only brilliant feat in the Austrian campaign. Joseph II., though personally brave, was no commander. At Slatina he had to leave his camp to the enemy. Discouraged he returned to Vienna carrying with him the germs of the disease to which he succumbed in 1790. His brother and successor, Leopold II. (1790–92) withdrew from the war, restored Belgrade, and made peace with Turkey. The only gain of Austria was the small district of old Orsova. The following year Catharine concluded the peace of Jassy, which added Oczacow and its region as far as the Dniester in full sovereignty to the Russian Empire.

154. Poland After the First Partition. — Whilst Russia was thus occupied with Turkey, the Poles attempted to shake off the fetters of Russian enslavement and to establish their domestic affairs on a sounder basis by a revision of the Constitution. They were urged on in this patriotic enterprise by the seemingly friendly attitude of Prussia which sought in an alliance with Poland a counterpoise against Russia's growing power, and, at the same time, hoped to gain possession of Dantzig and Thorn by peaceful cession. Frederic William I. (1786–1797) who had succeeded his uncle, Frederic II., concluded a formal alliance with Poland, solemnly guaranteed the integrity of her country, and promised protection in case any foreign Power should interfere with her internal concerns, 1790. The new Constitution adopted by the patriotic party abolished the elective character of the kingdom, named the Elector of Saxony hereditary king after Stanislas' death, created a diet of two houses, swept away the Liberum Veto, and made concessions to the middle classes and the peasants. National feeling, however, was opposed to a cession of Dantzig and Thorn, and Prussia gracefully withdrew the demand.

155. Second Division of Poland, 1793. — Nothing was more against Catharine's aims than to see Poland consolidated by a new

Constitution. Under her auspices the Russian party in Poland formed the Confederation of Targowitz. In May, 1792, 60,000 Russians crossed the Polish frontiers. Prince Poniatowski and Thaddaeus Kosciusko, who had served in America under Washington, placed themselves at the head of the patriotic armies, and fought bravely but in vain. They were crushed by threefold superior numbers at Dubienka. In August the Russians entered Warsaw. Catharine had compelled the helpless King of Poland to repudiate the new Constitution and to join the Confederation of Targowitz. Meanwhile the Poles had appealed to their sworn ally, the King of Prussia. But this sovereign who in two treaties had solemnly sworn to defend the integrity and independence of Poland, had already perjured himself by an alliance with Catharine for a second spoliation of that unhappy country. His army crossed the western frontier of Poland and occupied the territory assigned to him by Russia. In a joint proclamation the two monarchs formally announced to the Polish nation the accomplished fact. Besides Thorn and Dantzig Prussia took Great Poland or that part of the kingdom which is now called South Prussia and South Silesia. Russia took Volhynia, Podolia, and all that remained of Lithuania, and enforced a treaty of union with the rest of Poland which gave free entrance to her troops, the conduct of all future wars, and the right of confirming all treaties made by Poland with foreign powers. A Polish diet at Grodno had to ratify the robbery under the cannons of the invaders. The two powers then guaranteed the integrity of the remnants of Poland for all coming times. Two years later they took the rest.

156. The Fall of Poland, 1794–95. — The national rising of 1794 brought on the third and last partition and the disappearance of Poland as a State from the map of Europe. After the disaster of Dubienka, Kosciusko had been traveling in Europe to rouse the sympathy of the western courts for Poland. At the call of the patriots he returned to his country and was at once recognized as the leader in the national movement. Peasants armed with scythes, and drilled regiments from every part of old Poland flocked to his standard. At Raslowitz he won the first victory. The Russian garrison in Warsaw was in part cut down, in part driven from

the city by the patriots. In the two days' battle at Szczekoziny (pron. Shtchekoziny) he had all but defeated the Russians when during the night 24,000 Prussians joined their allies and forced Kosciusko to retreat upon Warsaw. For three months he defended the city against 50,000 Prussians under the command of Frederic William himself and 9,000 Russians. The Prussians meanwhile had taken Cracow. A rising of the Poles in South Prussia induced Frederic William to raise the siege. At this juncture, Austria, too, sent an army against Poland. The decisive battle was fought at Maciejowice (pr. Matchewitz) on the Vistula where the Russians had concentrated all their available forces. The national hero performed wonders of valor; for five hours the Polish infantry sustained the murderous fire of the Russian artillery till at last they had to give way before overwhelming numbers. Kosciusko, dangerously wounded, was found unconscious by a Cossack, and delivered into Russian captivity. In the last partition Prussia obtained Masowia with the capital of Warsaw, New East Prussia and part of the district of Cracow; Austria, West Gallicia with the capital of Cracow; Russia, Curland and the rest of Poland with the capital of Wilna. By the three partitions: —

Russia	obtained	181,000	square miles	with 6,000,000	inhabitants.
Prussia	"	57,000	"	3,700,000	"
Austria	"	45,000	"	2,500,000	"

Stanislas Poniatowski, the deposed king, spent his last years at the court of St. Petersburg, humbled and despised. Kosciusko recovered his freedom after the death of Catharine II., went back to America and was sent as envoy of the United States to Paris, where he labored unto the end for his cherished project, a new Poland.

Lecky: v. ch. 19, pp. 210-24; 232-64; 442-46; 596-99. v. 22, p. 83-92. — Bain: *The Second Part. of Poland*, E. H. R. '91, 2. — A Gielgud: *The Centenary of the Polish Constitution of 1791. Westminster Rev.* v. 135, p. 547. — T. J. Mackintosh: *Account of the Partition of Poland;* E. R. '22, 4. — Saxton: *Fall of Poland.* — Raumer: *Polens Untergang.* — Ostrowski: *Les trois demembrements de la Pologne.* — Weiss, v. 19.

Other Works for Consultation: Adams: *Kosciusko* (Wrecked Lives); v. Sybel: *Hist. of the French Revolution.* — Fletcher: *Hist. of Poland — Cath. II. and Russia.* Q. R. '78, 3. — Schlosser: *Hist. of the 18th Cent.* — See also general works for the period.

THE RUSSIAN RULERS OF THE HOUSE OF ROMANOW AND HOLSTEIN-GOTTORP.

1. **MICHAEL III.**, Romanow, 1615– | 1645.

2. **ALEXEI,** 1645– | 1676.

Czarina Maria. — Czarina Natalia.

3. **FEODOR,** 1676–1682.

4. **IVAN,** 1682–96. (retired 1689.)

Sophia, regent for the minor princess deposed by Peter, 1689.

5. **PETER I., THE GREAT,** Czar with Ivan 1682, sole ruler 1689 (1696)–1725.

m.

6. **CATHARINE I.,** 1725–1727.

8. **ANNA IVANOVNA,** 1730–1740.

Alexei.

Anna, Duchess of **HOLSTEIN | GOTTORP.**

9. **ELISABETH,** 1740–1762.

7. **PETER II.,** 1727–1730.

1. **PETER III.,** 1762.

m.

2. **CATHARINE II.** (Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst), 1762– | 1769.

3. **PAUL I.,** 1796–1801.

4. **ALEXANDER I.,** 1801–1825.

5. **NICHOLAS I.,** 1825–1855.

6. **ALEXANDER II.,** 1855–1881.

7. **ALEXANDER III.,** 1881–1894.

8. **NICHOLAS II.,** 1894–X.

WARS IN THE EAST OF EUROPE.

I. THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR. 1700-1718.

Causes.— 1. Patkul's agitation against Sweden.
2. Determination of **PETER I. THE GREAT,** to reach the Baltic.
3. The desire of **AUGUSTUS II.** to unite *Livonia* with *Poland*.
4. A quarrel of **FREDERIC IV.** with the *Duke of Holstein-Gottorp*.
5. The youthfulness of **CHARLES XII.** whom the allies hoped to overpower without difficulty.

Belligerents.— *Northern League,* 1699: Czar *Peter the Great,* 1689–1725. *Augustus II., Elector of Saxony and K. of Poland. Frederic IV., K. of Denmark.* Northern League renewed, 1714, and joined by *Fred. Wm. I., K. of Prussia* (1713–1740), and *George I. of Engl.* (1714–27), as *Elector of Hanover.*

CHARLES XII. K. OF SWEDEN, 1697-1718, allied with *Stanislas Lesczinski,* rival king in Poland, 1704–1709; later with *Mazeppa,* Hetman of the Cossacks.

Campaigns.— 1. *The Danish War,* 1700. *Holstein* invaded by the *Danes, Livonia* by the *Saxons, Denmark* by *Chas. XII.* Campaign quick and decisive.

PEACE OF TRAVENDAL, 1700. Frederic IV. renounced the Northern Alliance and restored Holstein to its Duke.

2. The *Russo-Saxon War,* 1700–1706.
   a. Chas. XII. victorious over the Russians at **NARVA.**
   b. Conquest of *Poland* and *Saxony* by Chas. XII. A series of Swedish victories. (*Warsaw,* 1701; *Klissow,* 1702; *Putulsk,* 1703, etc.)
   c. Meanwhile Peter I., neglected by Chas., pushed to the Baltic, captured *Narva,* and built **ST. PETERSBURG** on Swedish soil.

PEACE OF ALT-RANSTADT, 1706. Augustus II. recognized Stanislas; dropped from the alliance; had to support the Swedish army in Saxony. Execution of Patkul.

WARS IN THE EAST OF EUROPE. — *Continued.*

3. *The Russian War*, 1707–1709.
   a. Invasion of the *Ukraine* by Chas. XII.; defeated by *Peter* at **PULTAWA, 1709.** Sweden's supremacy in the North lost to Russia.
   b. Charles XII. a fugitive in *Turkey*, 1709–14.
   c. *Poland* re-occupied by *Augustus II.*; *Finland*, *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, and *Curland* conquered by Peter the Great.
4. *Russo-Turkish War*, instigated by Chas. XII., 1711. Peter surrounded on the *Pruth*.

PEACE OF THE PRUTH, 1711. *Azow* restored to Turkey Free passage through Russia and Poland granted to Chas. XII. Rejected by him.

5. *End of the Northern War*, 1714–18.
   1. Charles, expelled from Turkey, appears before *Stralsund*. Gradual loss of the Swedish possessions in Germany.
   2. Three invasions of *Norway* by *Charles XII.*, 1716–18. Charles (prob.) assassinated at *Friederichshall*, 1718.

TREATIES OF STOCKHOLM and **FRIEDRICHSBURG,** 1719–20. Territorial changes:
   1. *Hanover* (George I.) obtained *Bremen* and *Verden*.
   2. *Prussia* obtained Western *Pomerania* and a few islands.
   3. *Denmark* restored her conquests to *Sweden*, but took *Schleswig* from the *Duke of Holstein-Gottorp*.

PEACE OF NYSTADT, 1721. Russia obtained *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, *Ingria*, *and Curland*.

II. **WAR BETWEEN AUSTRIA** (Emperor *Charles VII.*, 1711–1714), allied with **VENICE** against **TURKEY,** 1714–1718.

Cause.— The violation of the *Peace of Carlowitz* by the Turks.

Campaigns.— 1. Conquest of *Morea*, and unsuccessful siege of *Corfu* by the Turks.
2. Campaign in *Lower Hungary*. Austrian victory at **PETERWARDEIN** (Eugene of Savoy) followed by the capture of **BELGRADE**, 1717.

PEACE OF PASSAROWITCH, 1718. *Austria* obtained the *Banat of Temeswar*, *Servia* with *Belgrade*, and part of *Wallachia*. Greatest territorial extension of Austria. Venice retained *Corfu*, and her conquests in *Dalmatia*, and ceded *Morea* to Turkey.

In a later *war of Austria and Russia* with Turkey, *1736–39*, Austria lost these conquests, save *Temeswar*, to Turkey in the *Peace of Belgrade*, 1759.

III. **WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION**, 1733–35. *Stanislas Leszczinski* re-elected, but *Augustus III., Elector of Saxony*, installed by Russian troops. (See p. 29.)

IV. **THE DIVISION OF POLAND.**

Causes.— 1. Unsettled state of Poland owing to (*a*) The *Liberum Veto*. (*b*) The *Armed Confederations*. (*c*) The *Pacta Conventa*.
2. The existence of a Russian party among the Polish nobles, opposed to the Patriots.
3. The secret alliance of *Russia* and *Prussia* against *Poland*, 1764.
4. The election of *Stanislas Poniatowski*, a tool of Catharine II., through the strong pressure exercised upon the Polish Diet by *Russia* and *Prussia*, 1764.
5. The *Confederation of Radom* against Stanislas, and the destruction of religious unity under Russian threats.
6. The Catholic *Confederation of Bar*, 1768.
7. *Catharine's* determination to annex part of Poland, and the jealousy of Prussia and Austria at the growing power of Russia.

Powers concerned in the Division: —

Poland: Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski, King of Poland, 1764–95.

Russia: Czarina **CATHARINE II.**, 1762–1796. (*Repnin*, her representative in Poland.)

Prussia: **FREDERIC II.**, 1740–86. *Fred. Wm. II.*, 1786–97.

Austria: **MARIA THERESA**, 1740–1780. Emperors *Joseph II.*, 1765–90; *Leopold II.*, 1790–92; Francis II., 1792–1806.

WARS IN THE EAST OF EUROPE. — *Continued.*

Campaigns. — 1. *Poland* occupied by Russian and surrounded by Russian and Prussian troops, 1764.

2. Civil War between the *Confederation of Bar* and *King Stanislas*, supported by Russia, 1768–72.

3. *Catharine's first war with Turkey*, the ally of the Confederation of Bar, 1768–1774. Russian victories off *Chios*, 1770, at *Shumla*, 1774. Conquest of *Azow*, *Bender*, and the *Danube Principalities*.

4. **SECOND WAR OF CATHARINE II.** allied with *Joseph II.* against Turkey, 1787–1792. *Oczacow*, *Bender*, *Ismail*, *Belgrade*, etc., stormed. Russian generals: *Potemkin*, *Suwarow*; Austrians: Gen. *Laudon* and the *Prince of Coburg*.

FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND, 1772. Russia took *Lithuania* and adjoining districts. Prussia took *Polish Prussia* minus *Dantzig* and *Thorn*. Austria took *Galicia* and *Lodomeria*.

PEACE OF KUTCHOUK KAINARDJI, 1774. Russia obtained part of the *Crimea* (took the rest 1787), and of the northern coast of the Black Sea, free navigation in Turkish waters, and the Protectorate over the Christians in Turkey and the Danube Principalities which were restored.

PEACE OF SISTOWA, 1791, between Turkey and Austria which restored *Belgrade* and obtained *Old Orsova*.

PEACE OF JASSY, 1792, between Russia and Turkey. Russia obtained *Oczacow* and the territory lying on the *Dniester*.

Events preceding the second Partition of Poland: Alliance between *Poland* and *Prussia* which aimed at a peaceful acquisition of *Dantzig* and *Thorn*, 1790. Important Reforms in Poland; New Constitution, 1791. *Confederation of Targowitz*, under Russian Protection ag. the new Constitution. Treachery of *Prussia* which concluded a *Partition Treaty* with Russia.

5. *Invasion of Poland* by 60,000 Russians. Unavailing bravery of *Prince Poniatowski* and *Kosciusko*, defeated at *Dubienka*. *Prussian Invasion of Poland* and fall of *Dantzig*, 1793.

6. *National Rising of the Poles* under *Kosciusko*, 1794. The Patriots overwhelmed by armies of Russia, Prussia and Austria. *Cracow* taken by the Prussians, *Praga* stormed by *Suwarow*.

SECOND PARTITION OF POLAND, 1793. Russia took the rest of *Lithuania*, and *Volhynia*, and *Podolia*. Prussia took *Dantzig*, *Thorn* and *Great Poland* (South Prussia).

THIRD PARTITION AND FALL OF POLAND, 1795.

1. Prussia took *Masovia* with *Warsaw*, *New East Prussia*, and *New Silesia*. *Total* acquisition: 57,000 square miles, 3,700,000 inhabitants.
2. Austria took *West Galicia* with *Cracow*. Total acquisition 45,000 sq. m., and 2,500,000 inhab.
3. Russia took the rest. Total acquisition, 181,000 sq. m., 6,000,000 inhabitants.

CHAPTER VII.

CAUSES OF THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The causes of the great Revolution which terminated the eighteenth century, were internal and external. The internal causes were partly religious and doctrinal, partly political and social. The chief external cause, as far as the French Revolution is concerned, was the successful War of American Independence.

§ 1.

RELIGIOUS AND DOCTRINAL CAUSES.

157. The Protestant Reformation. — The political and social Revolution in Europe which culminated in the French Revolution, was the last deduction from the principles of the Reformation. The denial of the divine authority of the Church naturally led to the denial of all human authority in the State. In France the spirit of rebellion against the Church had been nurtured by the Huguenots, and after their defeat, by the Jansenists. The Jansenists, so-called after Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, were Calvinists in disguise who maintained that they owed external acquiescence in, but not internal submission to, the decisions of the Church. Their heretical tenets were condemned by Clement XI. in the bull "Unigenitus" (1713) and by succeeding Popes. Among the French Catholics, opposition to the rights of the Holy See was always fostered by the Gallican party. Gallicanism and Jansenism had their strength in the Parliaments, especially that of Paris, and in the legal profession, the judges and jurists of France. Their idea was a State church after the pattern of the Anglican or Russian systems.

158. Parliamentary Opposition to the Church. — The Parliament of Paris and the twelve provincial Parliaments had regained their old position after the death of Louis XIV. Being mostly composed of Gallicans and Jansenists, they carried on a bitter warfare against the Holy See and the Bull "Unigenitus." The pastorals of bishops who denied to the Parliaments the right of interfering in dogmatical matters were rudely suppressed. The Par-

liament of Paris prosecuted, imprisoned and exiled priests for denying absolution to heretics. Louis XV., at first an opponent, later a protector of these tribunals, banished archbishops and bishops and gave full rein to the Parliament of Paris to condemn faithful priests to perpetual exile or to the galleys. This aggressive body went so far as to declare that the dogmatical decree of the Bull "Unigenitus," was not a rule of faith, and to prohibit to any ecclesiastic "of whatever order, quality or dignity he might be," to attribute to it such character. The instruction of the Archbishop of Paris supported by sixty bishops, excommunicating priests who would allow themselves to be ruled in the administration of the sacraments by any secular tribunal, was publicly burnt. When Benedict XIV. confirmed the Bull "Unigenitus," a parliamentary decree suppressed the Papal Brief. Again the Archbishop of Paris was exiled. Thus the Parliaments contributed their full share to shake and destroy that authority of the Church, which might have saved France, already tottering to its fall.

159. Infidel Literature. — The so-called "philosophy of the eighteenth century," an outgrowth of the skeptical literature of England, was a powerful agency in bringing about the Revolution.

Since the days of Cromwell it was the leading object of the English skeptics, to reject the Bible, miracles, revelation and Christianity, and to assert the sufficiency of natural religion. Men like John Locke, Mathew Tindal, Thomas Woolston, and hosts of others, were at first called Deists or Rationalists. Anthony Collins introduced the name of Freethinkers for those who like himself denied Christianity. Thomas Hobbes declared all religion a mere human invention; Charles Blount, a crafty device of the priesthood. John Locke by his speculations about "thinking matter" became the forerunner of *materialism* which denied all spiritual existences from the human soul upward. Whilst some of these writers wrote in a serious strain, others like John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, and Shaftesbury, mocked with unblushing cynicism at religion and morality. Bolingbroke as author, surpassed in diabolical hatred of Christianity the freethinkers, whom he persecuted as Minister of State. Dean Swift was not an infidel, but his blasphemies were equaled only by those of his teacher, Giordano Bruno. Science was restricted by these men to the exclusive and one-sided investigation of natural phenomena. The rejection of every higher truth that could not be found with the dissecting knife, was called "enlightenment." The substitution of Deism, Pantheism and Atheism for Christianity went by the

name of "philosophy." About 1740 a reaction set in in England against this skeptical literature, and henceforth most of the freethinkers retired into the secrecy of Masonic lodges.

160. Freemasonry. — The first grand lodge of Freemasonry was opened in London, 1717. Between 1725 and 1750, the secret society spread to every State of Europe, to North America and to East India. Princes like Francis Stephen, the husband of Maria Theresa, Frederic II., the Prince of Wales, statesmen and ministers, deists and freethinkers, members of the educated and professional classes, whatever their denomination, joined the secret order. The Freemasons borrowed their ritual from the masonic guilds of the Middle Ages, perverting its meaning. Their real aim, surrounded with impenetrable secrecy and guarded by terrible oaths, was to replace the existing religious, political and social order based on Christianity by a merely humanitarian, a neo-pagan state of society. They formed an organized conspiracy against Church and State. Neither the decrees of the Holy See nor the prohibitions of the courts of Madrid, Vienna and Naples were able to stay the spread of Freemasonry.

161. Freethinking on the Continent. — From England, the principles of freethinking and the secret work of the lodges passed over to France and the continent. Bolingbroke and other English infidels were familiarly known in Paris. Nearly all the French "philosophers" traveled and studied in England. Voltaire, who spent three years in England, and his coadjutors fully acknowledged their obligations to the writings of English infidels. Voltaire and his friends became the teachers of Frederic II. The Irish skeptic, John Toland, spread infidelity and Freemasonry in Great Britain and at the German courts. Freethinking princes and statesmen became a power not only in Protestant countries, as Gustavus III. in Sweden (assassinated in 1792), Struensee in Denmark, but still more so at Catholic courts. Kaunitz in Austria, Pombal in Portugal, Aranda in Spain, Choiseul in France, Tanucci in Naples, were all more or less outspoken freethinkers and conspirators against the Holy See and the rights of the Catholic Church.

162. French Philosophers. — But in no country did the new philosophy assume a more virulent form and destructive influence than in France. The French philosophers formed two groups, the Encylcopedists to whom belonged the skeptical scientist D'Alembert, the coarse atheists Diderot and Holbach, Damilaville "the hater of God," the materialists Condillac, Helvetius, de la Mettrie, and many others, who were indefatigable in propagating the gospel of open impiety, unblushing immorality, and deadly hatred against the Church by innumerable pamphlets, lampoons, dialogues, paro-

dies, letters, novels, and scientific treatises among the higher and middle classes of French and European society. For half a century Voltaire, their leader, turned his brilliant gifts of poetry and wit into weapons of invective, slander, ridicule, buffoonery and malice, to wage war to the knife against the Catholic Church. "Écrasez l'infâme" "crush the infamous thing," was the motto of his life. Under Diderot's supervision the philosophical sect began in 1751, the publication of the Encyclopedia, a dictionary ostensibly devoted to the sciences, but in reality a vehicle for their pernicious teachings. They boasted that it would be an easy thing for twelve philosophers to destroy what twelve fishermen had built up. Diderot declared they would not rest till the last king had been strangled with the entrails of the last priest. The extreme fanatics of this school proclaimed atheism as the supreme duty of mankind. — The second group was that of Rousseau, author of the "Social Contract," and the Socialists who aimed their attacks directly against the government and the rights of private ownership. The dominant philosophy of both schools undermined every existing institution and denied all authority to custom, historical right, religion and the State. The reading and discussion of such works became the fashion, the rage in the salons, the clubs, the social and scientific circles, at the royal court, and even among a portion of the higher clergy.

On the Jansenists: A. G. Knight: M. '80, 3 (Oct. p. 198; Nov. p. 370); '81. 1. (Jan. p. 36; Febr. p. 378): *An Archbish. of Paris, (Beaumont).* — Fr. X. Moll: A. C. Q. 10. — J. Rickaby: M. '91, 1. (Jan. p. 69; Febr. p. 246): *Clement XI. and the Jansenists.* — Bauer. St. 13, 17. — *Freemasonry:* Dechamps; Thebeaud: A. C. Q. 6. — M. '75. Sept. p. 90; M. '84. June, p. 153; July, p. 305. — F. X. Gautrelet: *La Franc-Maçonnerie et la Revolution.* — Kreiten: *Voltaire.* — Nourisson: *Voltaire et le Voltairianism.* — Reuben Parsons: *Studies in Church Hist.*, v. IV.; *The Bull Unigenitus; Freemasonry; Voltaire.* — Bain: *Gustavus III.;* also E. R. 81, 3. *Assassination:* E. H. Q. I. p. 543. — Weiss. v. 11. *Catherine II. and the Philosophers* in Waliszewski: *The Story of a Throne;* part II.

§ 2.

A PHILOSOPHICAL EMPEROR.

163. Josephinism. — The anti-ecclesiastical spirit and the infidel philosophy of the age found a representative in Joseph II. Joseph, like Frederic II. and Catharine II., was a philosophical king.

Shallow by nature and education though meaning well and desiring the good of his people, he became an easy prey to the enemies of the Church. Already before his accession a policy of innovation and opposition to the Holy See, fostered by Kaunitz, cast a shadow over the latter years of Maria Theresa's rule. But when Joseph II. assumed full power he proceeded with headlong haste to introduce the sweeping reforms suggested by his disordered imagination and urged by his evil advisers. His "reforms" dealt with matters over which the Church alone has jurisdiction, viz., with divine service, communication with the Holy See, theological instruction and the religious orders.

164. **Divine Service.** — By Imperial ordinances, he assumed to regulate the forms of divine worship, religious processions and pilgrimages, the number of feasts to be observed, even the number of candles to be used at Mass. "To save the forests," coffins were prohibited, and the bodies of the common people were to be buried in large trenches, or sewed into sacks. Such decrees naturally roused the anger of the people. He arrogated to the State the inalienable right of the Church to legislate about the sacrament of matrimony, and abolished ecclesiastical impediments.

165. **Communication with the Holy See.** — The free communications of the bishops both with the Holy See and with their dioceses was either cut off or placed under the supervision of the State. Pastoral letters were subjected to the royal Placet.

166. **Religious Instruction.** — The episcopal seminaries were changed into State schools (General Seminaries) in which freethinkers and religious scoffers were not unfrequently appointed as professors. A new catechism, more in harmony with the spirit of the age, was issued under Imperial authority. Priests were ordered not to preach on dogmatical truths but on moral subjects and national economy.

167. **Religious Orders.** — Joseph II. suppressed all the monasteries that did not serve "a practical purpose," ejected 36,000 members from their religious homes and confiscated their property. The remaining communities were severed from their ecclesiastical superiors in Rome. The admission of novices was made as difficult as possible. These "reforms," though they exasperated the greater portion of the clergy and the mass of the people, were encouraged by weak and time-serving bishops, freethinking professors, and priests infected with Febronianism and Freemasonry.

168. **Febronianism; Pius VI. Insulted.** — Febronius (Hontheim) auxiliary bishop of Trier, had published a book which gained widespread influence. His

work denied the divine institution and universal jurisdiction of the Primacy, derived all jurisdiction from the people as its source, and degraded the Pope to the position of a Parliamentary president, and made the validity of his decrees dependent on the consent of all the bishops. It advocated the formation of national churches with independent national heads, and called on the princes to block intercourse with Rome and to take the introduction of these changes into their own hands.

Joseph II. was so imbued with these principles that he fettered his own church whilst granting freedom to the sects. The liberty of the press introduced by him gave unscrupulous infidels and immoral writers full scope to attack the Church with every sort of indignity and calumny. In the hope of being able to stem the tide of irreligion by a personal meeting with the Emperor, Pius VI. came in 1782 to Vienna. But whilst he was everywhere greeted by the people with the spontaneous enthusiasm of unfeigned love and respect, he was treated with coldness and positive insults by the Catholic Emperor and his minister Kaunitz.

169. Joseph's Political Innovations — Defection of Belgium. — With equal disregard to political and historical rights Joseph undertook to reduce the administration of the different provinces, so varied in race, character, and customs, to a dead level of uniformity. To avoid taking an oath on the Hungarian Constitution which he intended to change, he refused coronation, and conveyed the crown of St. Stephen to Vienna. He still more exasperated the national feelings of the Hungarians by making German the official language of the kingdom, abolishing at the same time the local governments and annulling the privileges of nobles and free cities. By a stroke of the pen he destroyed the Constitution of the Austrian Netherlands which had been in force since the time of Maximilian I. and replaced it by a centralized bureaucracy. When Joseph II. approached his end, his dominions were in a state of utter confusion. Hungary was in the throes of a furious rebellion. The Tyrol, Bohemia, Moravia, were threatening open resistance. The patience of the Belgian people had been stretched to the utmost tension by Joseph's repeated attempts to secularize the episcopal seminaries. When the new Constitution was produced, the provinces rose, expelled the Austrian troops from their cities (1789), declared

their independence and constituted themselves the United States of Belgium. Thus the inheritance of Maximilian I. was practically lost to the House of Hapsburg. On his deathbed Joseph II. owned himself defeated. He sent back the crown to Hungary, annulled the greater part of his reforms and made his peace with God and the Church. Almost his only measures that survived him, were a modified toleration and the abolition of serfdom.

R. Parsons: *Studies*, v. IV.: *Josephism; Febronianism.* — Jaeger: I. Th. Z. '79; '80; (Leop. II.). — Seb. Brunner: *Jos. II.*; v. Weiss v. 13. — W. C. Robinson: *Cardinal de Frankenberg.* M. '78, 3, Nov. p. 305.

§ 3.

RELIGIOUS CAUSES CONTINUED — THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

170. In Portugal. — In their warfare against the Church, the Encyclopedists and Socialists found a vigorous opponent in the Society of Jesus. "Once we have destroyed the Jesuits," wrote Voltaire to Helvetius, "we shall have it all our own way with the *infamous thing*." To destroy the order, they made common cause with the Gallicans and Jansenists, with Choiseul and the Parliaments, with Pombal in Portugal and the freethinking ministers of the Bourbon courts. No calumny, scurrility or intrigue was spared to blacken the Jesuits in the eyes of the rulers and the people.

In Portugal the upstart Carvalho, created Minister and Marquis of Pombal by the weak Joseph I. Emmanuel (1750–1777), pursued with despotic cruelty the aim of the philosophers: to crush the nobility and the clergy, and to wean the Portuguese people from its obedience to the Holy See. He prepared the minds of the king and of the nation for his violent measures by a series of absurd charges against the Jesuits.

He accused them of exciting the Indians in Paraguay to rebellion, of having founded an Empire in Maranhao, of amassing fabulous riches in the colonies, of having roused the people against his government during the sufferings which followed the terrible earthquake of Lisbon (30,000 killed) in 1755.

A feigned attempt on the life of the king, skillfully plotted and deftly exploited by Pombal, secured him the royal ear and signet. With the autocracy of a tyrant he sent the most powerful families (the Aveiros and Tavoras) to the block, imprisoned the flower of

the Portuguese nobility and clergy and expelled the Jesuits. From all the dominions of Portugal the Jesuits were closely packed in ships and landed on the coast of the Papal States (1759). The most influential members of the order were immured in the horrible dungeons of the Tajo. When Pombal fell in 1777, the survivors with 700 other innocent prisoners emerged, after a frightful captivity of seventeen years, like specters from these keeps.

The released nobles, judges and ecclesiastics were restored to all their rights and dignities. A commission appointed by the new Queen Mary declared Pombal's most incriminated victims innocent of the plot on the king's life. The sentence was tantamount to an official declaration that the whole story of the conspiracy was false. Pombal was disgraced, exiled and sentenced to death, but was spared the execution on account of his decrepit age. His body remained neglected and unburied, till the Jesuits, recalled to Portugal in 1830, had celebrated mass over the corpse.

171. **In France.** — In France the open war against the Jesuits began in the literary world. The Jansenists had founded the so-called "Merchants' Bank" for the purpose of disseminating slanderous books and pamphlets against the order. The "Extracts," a book containing 758 text falsifications, charged the Jesuits with immoral and treasonable doctrines, while the Philosophers in their writings lauded Pombal to the skies. The attempt to charge them with complicity in Damien's attempt on the king's life, recoiled on the accusers, as the investigation pointed to the complicity of the Jansenists. The trial of Father La Valette furnished the Parliament of Paris a pretext of publicly prosecuting the Jesuits, though he was no longer a member of the Society. La Valette, whilst superior on the island of Martinique, had in defiance of rules and positive orders engaged in commercial transactions and failed. Though he was dismissed for breach of rule, yet the whole order was blamed for the transgression of one.

The Parliament of Paris in 1761 sentenced the Society to pay the debts of La Valette, closed the Jesuit schools and colleges, suppressed the sodalities as impious, and prohibited Frenchmen from entering the order. In 1762 the Parliament suppressed the Society itself, and denounced as godless, sacrilegious and treasonable their Institute, which had been approved by so many Popes. Nearly the whole Episcopate of France protested against this decree. Clement XIII. declared it null and void. In 1764 the Parliament left the Jesuits the alternative either to forswear their Institute and their vows as impious and dangerous to the State, or to go into

exile. They went into exile. Of 4,000 French Jesuits only five blenched. Clement XIII. issued in 1765 a bull in which he declared the Society innocent and confirmed its Institute. Its publication, however, in France, was thwarted by Choiseul.

172. In Spain. — In Spain Aranda charged the Jesuits, who had done their best to pacify the people, with causing bread riots. The Duke of Alva even stooped to the forging of letters aspersing the legitimacy of the king, in order to convict the Jesuits of high treason. The letters were written as if coming from Father General. Alva himself confessed the forgery on his deathbed. Pius VI. subsequently proved that they were written on Spanish, not on Roman paper. These letters Alva secretly introduced into the College of Madrid, and ordered them to be seized before they were opened. By this gross deception Alva roused the resentment of King Charles III. to the highest degree.

Charles III. signed the decree of banishment in 1766. By a prearranged plan all the houses and colleges of the Society throughout the Spanish possessions were invaded on the same day, their papers sealed, their property confiscated. Without a hearing, without even a semblance of a trial, 6,000 members provided only with the clothes they wore and a breviary, were crowded into ships and thrown on the shores of the Papal States and the island of Corsica, 1767. The same year, and by the same methods, Tanucci, the minister of Ferdinand IV., expelled the Jesuits from Naples. Parma, the youngest of the Bourbon courts, followed suit in 1768.

173. Ecclesiastical Suppression. — The next step of the Bourbon Courts was to bring about the suppression of the Society by ecclesiastical authority. To exercise pressure on the Holy See, France occupied the papal territory of Avignon, and Naples, the duchies of Benevento and Montecorvo with their troops. The saintly Clement XIII. withstood till death, 1769. In the conclave which followed, Cardinal Ganganelli was chosen as Clement XIV. As early as 1767 he had secretly expressed himself to the French ambassador, D'Aubeterre, as favoring the suppression. After his election, being constantly harassed by the courts, he made some concessions, the consequence of which he hoped to escape by delays. Before the end of the year he promised the suppression to Louis XV. and Charles III. of Spain. Still he sought delay. But the

Spanish ambassador, the crafty and violent Monino (afterwards Count Florida Blanca) by his repeated threats of suppressing all religious orders and of a Bourbon schism, finally overcame the reluctance of the timid Pope. July 21, 1773, Clement XIV. signed the brief of suppression for the sake of peace. It was not a judicial but an administrative measure; no investigation preceded the sentence. At the time of suppression the Society numbered 39 provinces, 176 seminaries, 669 colleges, 359 smaller residences, and 223 flourishing missions, most of them among heathen nations. The Jesuits, over 22,000 all over the world, submitted without a protest.

The Pope had a right to suppress the Society in an *administrative* way. The order, so highly praised by Clement XIII. and his predecessors, could not fall so low in three years as to deserve a *judicial* suppression. Although the Jesuit houses were everywhere searched, and in many instances plundered by the enemies of the Society, no trace of guilt, or of their pretended wealth, was ever found. Lorenzo Ricci, the General of the Society, died in the castle of St. Angelo solemnly attesting the innocence of the Order. Their innocence was acknowledged by Maria Theresa, who bowed with great sorrow to the decision of the Pope; by Frederic II. and Catharine II., who, with the permission of the Pope, retained their services in Silesia and Russia; by the great majority of the bishops, the clergy and the people of the Catholic world. The suppression did not bring the hoped for peace. The persecution of the Church and the Holy See waxed in fierceness. The revolutionary party alone was strengthened, for they had overcome one of their boldest foes. The charge that Clement XIV. was poisoned by ex-Jesuits is a groundless invention of hostile pamphleteers. Responsible historians, both Catholic and Protestant, mention the calumny only to reject it. The testimony of the Papal physicians and of all the attendants shows that the sickness of the Pope took a perfectly natural course. At the autopsy not a trace of poison was discovered.

Suppression of the Jesuits: R. Parsons, Studies IV. — *Suppression by Clement XIV.* A. C. Q. 13. — A. Weld: *Suppression in the Portuguese Dominions.* — *Pombal and the Jesuits:* M '77, 3, Sept. p. 86; A. C. Q. 2, p. 51. — A. C. Q. 2, p. 51. — Duhr: *Pombal* (Jesuiten Fabeln). — Ellis Schreiber: *Father Malagrida* M. '89, 1, Feb. p. 214. — *The Jesuits, Their Foundation and History.* — v. Weiss, v. 13. — Cesare Cantù: *Hist. of a Hundred Years.*

§ 4.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

174. The Reigns in France from Louis XIV.-Louis XVI. — The long wars of Louis XIV. had exhausted the resources of France. He left a

public debt of 2,000,000,000 livres which steadily grew under his successors. The regency of Philip of Orleans was a further step towards dissolution. The debauchery of his shameless court found its way to the lower classes of the people, whilst the swindling operations of Law undermined the credit of the state and the prosperity of the country. The fruits of Fleury's wiser administration were destroyed by the reverses and the enormous expenditure in the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War. The acquisition of Corsica from Genoa in 1768 was no compensation for the loss of the colonies. The prestige of royalty sank lower from day to day under a king like Louis XV.

175. **Royal Establishment.** — Under the late Bourbon kings, the personal household of the king and the princes royal employed 15,000 persons at an annual expense of 40 to 50 million livres, one-tenth of the public revenue. The princes of the blood had a revenue of 24 or 25 million livres, the Duke of Orleans (Egalité) alone 11,400,000. The main duty of the first persons of the kingdom was at every place where the court might happen to reside, to be at all hours at the beck of the king's pleasure. The occupations at court were an interminable round of feasting, hunting, plays and receptions, pomp and parade. A corresponding extravagance was practiced in most of the great houses; so that public affairs, private business, the seclusion of family life, the education of children, and the precepts of morality were sacrificed by the higher classes to frivolity and pleasure-seeking.

176. **Social Distinctions.** — The nobility by birth numbered in France about 140,000 persons or 60,000 families. To this estate was added a great number of families of administrative officers, members of the Parliaments, judges, etc., who since the time of Louis XIV. had purchased titles of nobility to escape paying certain taxes. The *old* nobility which alone had access to the court, rigorously maintained its social ascendency over the so-called bourgeois, the middle class of merchants, traders, lawyers, etc. This distinction was kept up in every profession, the army, the navy, the bench. Only noblemen could hold officer's rank in the army and navy, and they were overpaid. The soldiers recruited from the lowest classes of the people, were wretchedly underpaid, and fed worse than prison convicts. Hence when the Revolution broke out, they headed instead of suppressing the revolts. The *resident* nobility, though stiff against the bourgeois were as a rule kindhearted and neighborly with their subjects. For this reason there was still much cheer and light-hearted enjoyment among the simple people living in villages and smaller towns. The sufferings of the peasants came directly from the agents and middlemen of *absentee* nobles and clergymen of high position who resided in Paris. The same social distinction was found in the clergy. The clergy of France numbered 131 archbishops and bishops, 60,000 secular priests, 23,000 monks in 2,500 monasteries, and

37,000 nuns in 1,500 convents. The monasteries continued to be the benefactors of the people, and were most generous in the support of the poor in times of need. The church revenues from the soil amounted to 80 or 100 million livres to which were added another 100 million of tithes. A great part of the revenues went to titular abbots ad commendam. The bishops and abbots were usually nobles, and had incomes ranging from 25,000 to 100,000 livres or more. The abuse of pluralities still more swelled the incomes of some of the great ecclesiastics. Thus Cardinal Rohan's revenues amounted to 600,000 livres. The parish priests and vicars were taken from among the bourgeois and peasants and had barely enough for subsistence. Besides, their scanty salaries of from 250–700 francs were heavily taxed. The wealth of the higher and the poverty of the lower clergy were a source of innumerable abuses and created a bitter antagonism between the two classes.

177. Feudal Dues. — At the period preceding the Revolution a fifth of the soil of France was crown or communal lands, a fifth belonged to the third estate, a fifth to the rural population, and two-fifths to the privileged classes, the nobility and the clergy. There were still three kinds of feudal rights and burdens connected with the soil: (a). The lord of the fief enjoyed the right of administering justice which he often sold to the highest bidder; the right of levying tolls at fairs and bridges, and the right of fishing and hunting on the feudal estate. The farmer could not kill the deer and rabbits roaming in his field nor bar the hunters from galloping over them. He had to pay a tax for the right of guarding his crops, and another tax for the permission of selling them. (b). The farmer had to grind his corn and to press his grapes at the seigneur's mill or press, and to work for him a certain number of days. (c.) About a fifth of the soil was *censive* land, *i. e.*, though the holder had all the rights of a proprietor, and could not be removed as long as he paid his dues, and could sell or sublet the land, he was subject to two restrictions: he had to pay an annual fee to the lord, and he had to plant the crops which his lord prescribed. The feudal rights were separable from the proprietorship of the fiefs, and as a marketable property were frequently bought up by the townsmen, and passed from hand to hand. This state of affairs caused interminable vexations and lawsuits, as sometimes half a dozen different persons claimed dues from the same piece of land.

178. Administration. — Since Louis XIV. the administration was absolute, arbitrary, and centralized. The smallest parish matter had to be reported to Paris. Suspected and guilty persons of every class could be sent to State prisons without a hearing, upon the sole warrant of sealed letters (lettres de cachet). If the Parliament of Paris refused to register royal edicts, the royal court had recourse to "beds of justice" (lit de justice), a despotic enforcement of registration, and banished the recalcitrant

members of the Parliament. The sale of offices, begun by Louis XIV., gradually extended to every administrative department. Pensions, sinecures, offices with enormous salaries, were created for the sole purpose of being sold.

179. Taxation. — The system of taxation was oppressive in its nature, unjust in its distribution, and arbitrary in its collection. Excise duties were laid on the most common necessaries of life. The entrance fee or *octroi* was a toll which peasants had to pay at the city gate of market towns. Two-thirds of the hated *gabelle* or salt tax were levied on one-third of the kingdom. The same measure of salt which in the favored provinces cost a few cents might cost as many francs in another province. Every person over seven years of age had to buy annually seven pounds of salt for kitchen and table use. For salting pork the farmer had to buy another *certified* amount. If a villager economized his table salt for curing pork, his pork was confiscated and he was fined 300 livres. It was forbidden under a fine of 40 or 50 livres to evaporate ocean water. Violations of the salt tax led annually to 4,000 seizures of dwellings, 3,400 imprisonments, and 500 sentences of flogging, exile or the galleys. The salt tax, excise and custom dues were sold in advance to revenue farmers, who besides the tax sought their own profit. The *taille*, a personal property tax, was in two-thirds of France laid on land, houses and industries in proportion to the presumed capacity of the tax-payer. At the first sign of increasing prosperity the tax was raised. In ten provinces the rich paid 1,500,000 livres, the poor 11,636,000 livres taille. The *poll tax* was general. The poorest rag-picker who earned ten or fifteen cents a day, had to pay his eight or ten livres poll tax. *Internal* custom houses and tolls were so numerous, that it took over three months instead of three weeks to carry goods from the south to the north of France. A boat load of wine from Languedoc had to pay over forty kinds of duties before reaching Paris. Laborers who crossed the Rhone to their daily work, were taxed for their victuals. Whilst the privileged classes paid few taxes, the common people bore the heaviest part of the burden. Over a great portion of France a farmer of the better sort had to pay 81 francs out of every hundred of his net revenue in taxes and feudal dues, retaining less than a fifth for the support of his family. Small farmers fared still worse.

180. Condition of the People. — Under such a system of administration and taxation, the gap between the rich and the poor constantly widened. Vast numbers of peasants deserted their lands and sought refuge beyond the frontiers. Part of the French soil became a waste. The price of corn and bread had to be fixed by the police. A slight rise in the price of bread meant starvation for the poor. A fall in the price of corn impoverished the producer. Famines and bread riots became periodic in the eighteenth century. In 1715, immediately after the war of the Spanish succession,

one-third of the population, 6,000,000, are said to have perished of hunger and destitution. The years 1725, 1737, 1739, 1740, 1747, 1750, 1752, 1764–68, 1770, 1773, by no means exhaust the number of famine years. In 1740 Bishop Massillon wrote to Cardinal Fleury that the majority of the rural inhabitants have, for half the year, to deprive themselves and their children of their sole bread food made of barley and oats, to pay the taxes. In 1755, 800 persons died of misery within one month in a single quarter of Paris. Private charity, though in many cases practiced on a grand scale, was hopelessly inadequate to meet the evil. The country swarmed with beggars, smugglers, poachers, and brigands; thousands of them were imprisoned, sent to the galleys, hanged, or broken on the wheel. Into such soil fell the revolutionary teaching of Jean Jaques Rousseau.

181. The Social Contract. — Not one of the "philosophers" obtained an influence in shaping future events which could be compared with that of Rousseau. The others appealed to the educated and official classes to carry out the revolutionary changes; Rousseau appealed to the common people. His "Social Contract" and similar writings had a hundred times more readers among the bourgeois and the lower classes than Voltaire's works. Rousseau's "Contract Social," published in 1762, became the model of the revolutionary State. The liberty, the equality, the sovereignty of the people was the foundation of the social contract. The State, with Rousseau, is nothing but a collection of individuals freely associating together, and forming a contract for the recognition of their rights. Every one surrenders himself with all his rights to the community. This community excludes all other associations, especially the Church. A Christian community, in which the Church has special rights not delegated by the State, is, in his view, a contradiction. Whatever opposes an obstacle to the equality of the citizens, possession of private property, a government, an aristocracy, a church, must be overthrown. The first man who asserted a property right, was a robber to the community. The people have the inalienable right, to determine the form of government, and *at any time* to change it, to accept or reject any proposed law by universal suffrage. It is evident that such a theory, carried out in practice, must lead to anarchy and mob rule.

182. Beginning of the Reign of Louis XVI. — Louis XVI., the grandson of Louis XV., succeeded to the throne in 1774. His piety, moral purity, simplicity of tastes, and sincere good will were neutralized by his lack of energy. He was married to Marie Antoinette, the unfortunate daughter of Maria Theresa. Marie Antoinette was of a vivacious temper, fond of enjoyment, but not extravagant. She was not opposed to reforms, but meddled little

in politics until the danger of her family roused her inborn energy. Long before the outbreak of the Revolution the court party nicknamed her a "Democrat" on account of her broad-minded views. It was systematic misrepresentation which undermined her popularity. The ministers chosen by the king were all freethinkers. Turgot introduced a number of reforms in the regulation of trade and labor, but his further plans were cut short by the opposition of the privileged classes. It was a misfortune for the queen that his dismissal was, in part, her work. After his dismissal a reaction set in, and the attention of the nation was, for a time, diverted to the events which took place in North America, events in which France soon took an active part.

Causes of the Fr. Revol.: Lecky, v. ch. 20, p. 300-441. — Taine: *The Ancient Regime.* — Reeve: *France Before the Revol. of '89.* — De Tocqueville: *The Old Regime and the Revol.* — *The 18th Century;* D. R. '79, 4; '80, 1; '81, 4. — H. G. Mivart: *The Ancient Regime,* A. C. Q. 18, 19. — *The Last Days of the Old Regime;* M. 80, 3. — Lilly: *Questions of History.* — J. Murray: *French Finances Under Louis XV.* — v. Weiss, v. 11. — See also the Histories of the French Rev. to Ch. IX.

CHAPTER VIII.

AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

§ 1.

CAUSES.

183. Conquest of Canada. — The submission of the colonies to the mother country, before the Peace of Paris, was mainly due to the presence of the French in Canada. The colonists depended for their security on the armed support of England. Once the French had been driven from America, the colonies stood no longer in need of England's protection.

184. Conflicting Claims. — The conflicting claims of the colonies and the British Parliament lay at the root of the controversy. The colonists maintained that as Englishmen by birth or descent they were entitled to the same degree of liberty as Englishmen enjoyed at home. Not being represented in Parliament they opposed Parliamentary taxation as an invasion of their rights upon the principle that taxation without representation is tyranny. Substantially, it was the same principle that had been adopted by the bishops and barons of England in the first perfect Parliament of 1295, and had been inserted in the Magna Charta, that no tax should be imposed without consent of Parliament. On the other hand, Parliament claimed the unrestricted right of legislating for, and of taxing the colonies, not merely to defray the expenses of protecting them, but as a mark of colonial subordination and dependence. The claims of the colonies were ably defended in America by the writings and speeches of James Otis, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Samuel and John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin, their colonial agent in London; and in the Parliament itself by Lord Chatham, Edmund Burke, and other friends of the Americans.

185. Navigation and Trade Acts. — The English claims were practically embodied in a number of Parliamentary Acts which the colonists considered as prejudicial to their commerce, their manufactures and their rights of self-government. The *Navigation Acts* were designed to restrict colonial commerce for the benefit of the English merchants. The colonies could trade only with the mother country and its dependencies. All imports had to pass through England. All exports, tobacco, cotton, and other products, had to sell in British markets. Every sort of competition with English manufacture was deliberately crushed. It was forbidden to ship woolens,

hats, etc., from one colony to another, or to set up mills and steel furnaces in America. This selfish legislation led to wholesale smuggling. Nine-tenths of all the tea and other articles of consumption were smuggled. To put down this practice, so-called Writs of Assistance were issued for the search and seizure of smuggled goods. Such a writ empowered the king's officers to enter even private homes. The colonies protested in vain against these writs. It must be confessed, however, that during the last French war the colonists in their money-making spirit had carried on a vast contraband business with the enemy, and furnished them nearly all their provisions.

186. The Stamp Act. — The policy of Grenville, Bute's successor, brought the dissatisfaction of the colonies to a crisis. He determined to enforce strictly the trade laws which were constantly violated with the connivance of the royal officers, permanently to establish a British army of 10,000 men or more in America, and to raise by *parliamentary taxation* first a part, later the whole, of the money necessary for its support. For this purpose he proposed in 1764, the Stamp Act, to obtain 100,000*l.* of revenue. It levied a tax ranging from a half-penny to 6*l.* on pamphlets, periodicals, legal documents, etc. Revenue taxes had been heretofore imposed only by the colonial assemblies. It was the first act which provoked a general outcry against the power and a denial of the right of Parliament to tax America.

The Stamp Act was passed in 1765, despite the collective petitions of the colonial assemblies.

Patrick Henry carried a resolution in the Virginia House of Burgesses, denying the authority of Parliament to tax the colonies. A Congress at New York representing nine colonies declared it the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes should be imposed on them but with their own consent given personally or by their representatives; that the colonists are not and from their local circumstances *cannot be* represented in the House of Commons; hence only their representatives in the colonial assemblies were competent to tax them. This position was ardently maintained in Parliament by Chatham, Burke, and the friends of the colonies in general.

187. Repeal of the Stamp Act. — Meanwhile the "Sons of Liberty," an American association against the Stamp Act, seized and destroyed all the stamps they could lay their hands on, and induced or forced the stamp masters to resign. In the frequent

stamp riots both custom houses and private dwellings of unpopular officials were plundered. Merchants refused to pay their debts in England unless the act was repealed. No jury could be found to punish mob violence. A non-importation agreement so far affected the trade, that English merchants themselves petitioned Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act. The new Rockingham ministry wished to retire from an untenable position. Thus the act was repealed, but with a declaration, affirming the right of Parliament to tax the British colonies and to pass laws binding them "in all cases whatsoever." The repeal restored peace and confidence in America, the declaration was ignored.

188. The Tax on Tea. — In 1767 Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, again tried to tax America by imposing a duty on tea and four other articles. The tax was not compulsory as nobody was obliged to buy tea. But the Sons of Liberty would brook parliamentary taxation in no form, and by their agitation kept the revenue down to a minimum. In consequence Lord North, successor to Townshend, urged Parliament to remove the duties from four articles and to lower the tax on tea. This repeal, however, was accompanied by two measures, which only aggravated the already excited feeling in America. The one was the revival of a law of Henry VIII. by which traitors were to be tried in England. The other was the Mutiny Act, which ordered the colonies to maintain British troops sent over for the enforcement of these obnoxious laws.

189. Conflicts between the British and Colonial Authorities. — The New York Assembly refused to furnish supplies for the troops, and was suspended. Assemblies met to protest against English legislation, were dissolved by the governors, and met again on their own authority. The troops pouring into the northern colonies from England caused bitter feelings to grow up between the soldiers and the citizens. In Boston a party of soldiers fired upon a small mob that taunted them. Five men fell dead or dying, six others were wounded. This so-called massacre of Boston added fuel to the flame (1770). In North Carolina a regular battle was fought between the governor commanding the militia, and the "Regulators," a secret society pledged to pay no taxes until their grievances were

redressed. Two hundred of the insurgents fell and six were hanged by the governor (1771). In the teeth of an act just passed, which made it a capital offense to destroy ships or military and naval stores, unknown parties of Rhode Island destroyed and burnt the royal revenue cutter Gaspee, whose commander had made himself obnoxious by a zeal for England that went far beyond the law (1772). The Sons of Liberty prevented the landing or the sale of tea. From New York and Philadelphia the ships went back to England unloaded. At Charleston the tea was stored away in damp cellars. In Boston, fifty persons disguised as Indians emptied 342 chests of tea into the bay in the presence of a vast multitude (Boston Tea Party, 1773).

In spite of the numerous riots and the general excitement the Americans were singularly free from the thirst of blood. After the "Boston Massacre" two patriots, bitterly opposed to England, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, undertook the defense of Captain Preston, who had commanded the firing party. He himself and all the soldiers were acquitted except two, who were found guilty of manslaughter, and even these received only a slight punishment. The American Revolution, unlike the French, was never disgraced by political assassinations.

190. Repressive Measures of the English Government. — Parliament expressed its indignation at the proceedings in America by five Acts in 1774. It closed the port of Boston to all vessels (Boston Port Act). It remodeled by its own authority the Charter of Massachusetts, and placed its government into the hands of the king's officers. General Gage, commander-in-chief of the British troops, was appointed governor of Massachusetts. It authorized the removal to another colony or to England for trial of persons indicted for murder or other capital offenses, if the offense had been committed in aiding the magistrates. It legalized the quartering of troops in the American colonies. It incorporated the country north of the Ohio river between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi with the province of Quebec (Quebec Act).

The Quebec Act allowed all civil causes to be tried by the French law, to which the Canadians were accustomed, admitted Catholics to the legislative council, established complete liberty of public worship for the Catholic Church, and granted the Catholic clergy a full parliamentary title to their old ecclesiastical estates.

191. **First Continental Congress, September 5, 1774.** — Lord North flattered himself that his measures would restore peace. The reverse happened. Provisions poured into Boston for the support of those whom the Port Act had thrown out of employment. As soon as a colonial assembly was dissolved by a governor, the representatives of the people met in their own name. Juries refused to take the oath. Judges were prevented from sitting. Riots were the order of the day.

The Virginia House resolved that an attack on one colony was an attack on all and that it was expedient to call a General Congress. Massachusetts took a similar course. Delegates from all the colonies except Georgia met in Carpenter's Hall at Philadelphia, and organized the Continental Congress. George Washington, Samuel Adams, and Patrick Henry were the most prominent delegates. In a Declaration of Rights Congress claimed for America the power of legislation, denied to Parliament the right of taxing the colonies, restricted parliamentary authority to the mere regulation of trade, and nominally rejected all of the acts, — eleven in number — from the Stamp Act to the Quebec Act, passed since 1764. In separate addresses they appealed to the king, to the people of England, and to the people of Canada against Parliament. They finally voted to suspend all trade with England, till justice should be done to the colonies.

In the address to the people of Great Britain drawn up by the bigoted John Jay, they skillfully appealed to the strong anti-Catholic feeling of the nation by denying the competence of the legislature to establish (in Canada) a religion fraught with "sanguinary and impious tenets;" "a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and *rebellion* through every part of the world." At the same time they addressed the Catholic Canadians in the following terms: "We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation to imagine, that *difference of religion* will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us." The intolerance of New England Puritanism in which happily Washington had no part, lost Canada to the cause of independence.

192. New Measures of Parliament. — Parliament after rejecting the last motions for reconciliation made by Chatham and Burke pronounced Massachusetts in a state of rebellion, restrained the colonies from all trade with England, and raised the British force in Boston to 10,000 men. The adherents upon whom the government could count in the colonies, were its own officers, the Episco-

palians both in the North and the South, a large section of the mercantile class that detested all measures interfering with their trade, and a rich and powerful party of sympathizers especially in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia known as the American Tories. The Tories of New York succeeded in inducing their assembly to withhold assent to the proceedings of the Continental Congress.

Lecky (*Causes of Am. Rev.*): III. pp. 290–499; 569–591. — Sparks: *Life of B. Franklin.* — W. W. Henry: *Life of Patrick Henry.* — T. K. Hosmer: *Lives of S. Adams* (Whig views) and of *Th. Hutchison* (Tory views). — J. T. Morse, Jr.: *J. Adams.* — Channing: *U. S. of Am.*, 1765–1865. — Kidder: *The Boston Massacre.* — Frothingham: *Rise of the Rep. of the U. S.* — O'Sullivan: *The Quebec Act and the Church in Canada*, A. C. Q. 10. — *Speeches of Chatham and Edm. Burke in Parliament.*

§ 2.

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE — THE COLONIES UNASSISTED, 1775–1778.

193. Campaign of 1775 — Lexington and Concord. — The War of Independence comprises two periods. In the first, 1775–1778, the fighting was done in America, between the mother country and the colonies. In the second, 1778–83, France, Spain, and Holland joined the United States, and the war spread to all parts of the world.

The first blood was shed at Lexington. General Gage sent a detachment to seize or destroy the military stores which the patriots had collected at Concord, Mass. Sixty or seventy "minute men," volunteers who were to be ready at a moment's notice, had gathered at Lexington, but were easily dispersed with a loss of sixteen killed or wounded. The British troops proceeded to Concord and destroyed the stores. On the return march to Boston the volunteers, who had meanwhile gathered in larger numbers, constantly assailed and finally routed the English who lost 273 men as against 88 on the American side. The engagement dispelled the prestige of the British regulars.

194. Bunker Hill, June. — All New England now fled to arms. In May, Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold surprised forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, a feat which gave the Americans the command of Lake George, Lake Champlain, and the road to Canada. Boston, with its 10,000 regulars, was gradually surrounded on the land side by 15–20,000 volunteers. Entrenched on Breed's Hill

1,500 provincials repulsed two attacks of 3,000 regulars and retreated in good order only when their ammunition had been exhausted. The effect of this defeat was equivalent to a victory, because the firmness of the volunteers in the face of twice their number of English regulars encouraged the colonial leaders.

In the South the governors of Virginia (Lord Dunmore) and of the two Carolinas sought refuge on board the English frigates. Dunmore promised freedom to negro slaves who should fight for England, and burnt the town of Norfolk. These two measures excited deep resentment throughout America.

195. **Expedition to Canada.** — Though it publicly disavowed the action, Congress sent an expedition under Montgomery into Canada which took Montreal. Arnold, reinforced by Montgomery, made a fruitless effort to take Quebec. The Catholics of Canada, who had no sympathy for New England Puritans, refused to support the movement. The Americans having lost 5,000 men by desertion or death, fell back within the American frontiers. By next spring all Canada was again in the hands of the English.

196. Second Meeting of the Continental Congress. — Meanwhile Congress had met. New York now rallied to the cause. By the accession of Georgia, before the close of the sessions, Congress represented the whole of the thirteen colonies. Its two most important measures were the appointment of George Washington as commander-in-chief of the American forces (1775) and the Declaration of Independence (1776). Other veterans of the French war were given subordinate commands. Congress took measures to provide military supplies and to build up a navy, authorized privateers to cruise against the ships of England, but not against those of Ireland, prohibited the further importation of slaves into any colony, and engaged the commercial interests of the world by throwing open the trade of the colonies to all nations except the British.

One of the greatest difficulties with which Congress had to contend was the state of the colonial finances. Having no revenue but that irregularly supplied by the States, Congress resorted to all kinds of devices to borrow money. Paper money was issued until it became almost worthless; lottery loans were authorized; subsidies were begged from France, and bonds issued on the joint guarantees of all the colonies. In this financial distress speculators gleaned a rich harvest. The soldiers were poorly and irregularly paid, and were often driven to mutiny or desertion by delay of payment.

197. **Washington's Character.** — "To the appointment of Washington, far more than to any other single circumstance, is due the ultimate success of the American Revolution. For several years, and usually in the neighborhood of superior forces, he commanded a perpetually fluctuating army almost wholly destitute of discipline, torn by personal and provincial jealousies, wretchedly armed, wretchedly clothed, and sometimes in imminent danger of starvation." Washington was often "unsupported by the population among which he was quartered, thwarted by the jealousy of rivals in the army and in Congress;" but he kept his forces together "by a combination of skill, firmness, patience, and judgment, which has rarely been surpassed, and he led them at last to a signal triumph." Though possessed of keen sensibilities and strong passions, his power of self-command never failed him. "In civil, as in military life, he was always the same calm, wise, just, and single-minded man, pursuing the course which he believed to be right without fear or favor. He was in the highest sense a man of honor, and he carried into public life the severest standard of private morals. It was soon acknowledged by the nation, and by the English themselves, that in Washington America had found a leader, who could be induced by no earthly motive to tell a falsehood, or to break an engagement, or to commit any dishonorable act." (Lecky).

198. Fall of Boston and Attack on Charleston, 1776. — When Washington arrived before Boston (July, 1775) he had to mould two raw levies into effective troops, as the term of the earlier levy expired in winter. In March, 1776, he succeeded at length in occupying the Dorchester Heights which commanded the city and harbor of Boston. General Howe, who, in November, 1775, had relieved General Gage of his command, was compelled to evacuate Boston and Washington entered the capital of Massachusetts in triumph. Besides the troops the English fleet carried 1,000 American Tories to Halifax. New England was henceforth substantially free. Washington transferred his headquarters to New York, leaving General Ward in Boston.

Early in 1776 Sir Henry Clinton had sailed from Boston on a secret expedition. Foiled by General Lee in his attack on New York, Clinton made a descent upon Charleston but was repulsed by Colonel Moultrie, and by Lee who had followed him by land. After cruising about for a while Clinton returned to New York.

199. **Declaration of Independence.** — Heretofore the majority of the colonists had hoped for a peaceful settlement with England without a formal separation from the mother country. But the war which was now

ablaze could end only in independence or in complete subjection. A strong public sentiment for independence showed itself first in resolutions passed by the separate colonial assemblies. When Congress contemplated an appeal for aid to France, the first preliminary step seemed to call for independence. Finally when England hired German mercenaries to fight against her own subjects, the declaration of independence became inevitable.

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia offered, and John Adams of Massachusetts seconded, a resolution, declaring the independence of the United Colonies, the expediency of foreign alliances and of a plan of confederation. Action on the independence clause was postponed for three weeks, the other two clauses were passed at once. On July 2, the Independence clause of the Lee resolution was passed and a committee appointed to draw up a formal declaration. The Declaration was adopted July 4th, by twelve States (New York alone still abstaining), and signed August 2d, by every member of Congress. It declared, that these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved.

The Declaration of Independence was drawn up by Jefferson, an adherent of the new philosophy. The Declaration was far more justified by a series of historical facts proving that England had become unfit to rule the colonies, that her policy had become destructive of the ends of government, than by the theoretical and somewhat declamatory principles laid down in the preamble. Some of the phrases about *equality* and *liberty of all men*, like the declaration of the rights of man issued by the first Continental Congress, were a concession to the new philosophy. If the signers had taken these assertions seriously, their first duty would have been the immediate abolition of slavery. The charge that the king endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, was unfair, because the Americans were willing enough to employ the Indians in their warfare against England, and actually employed them in the expedition to Canada and elsewhere. The resoluteness of the independent colonies was in the immediate future to be tested by a series of disasters.

200. The Long Island Campaign. — In the beginning of July, General Howe landed from Halifax in Staten Island, where he was joined by Clinton arriving from Charleston, and by his brother, Admiral Lord Howe, arriving from England. These reinforcements

raised Howe's army to 30,000 men. With 15,000 men Howe attacked and routed 8,000 Americans in the battle of Long Island. A few thousand Americans hemmed in at Brooklyn retreated unobserved across the river to the New York shore. The masterly retreat was due to the skill of Washington, who had come to their rescue.

Howe now opened negotiations with Washington and with Congress. The American general refused to adopt communications addressed to "George Washington, Esq." or "George Washington, Esq., etc., etc.," and denied that Howe had any power but to offer pardon, and pardon the Americans would not accept. Congress answered they would listen to no terms save independence. Thus the war went on.

Washington had to evacuate New York, and was leisurely pursued by General Howe. Fort Washington and Fort Lee, on the Hudson, fell into the hands of the English and opened the whole province to the enemy. After a few skirmishes Howe returned to New York whence he sent plundering raids into the country. An expedition from New York towards the end of the year captured Rhode Island which remained for three years in English possession.

201. Trenton and Princeton, 1776–1777. — Washington, well-nigh deserted by his men and closely pursued by Cornwallis, retreated through New Jersey across the Delaware into Pennsylvania. The population was everywhere lukewarm. The leaders were discouraged. Washington perceived that only some brilliant stroke could save the cause. With consummate skill and courage he crossed on Christmas night the Delaware to Trenton, and with the loss of only four men captured 1,000 Hessians, 1,000 stands of arms and six field pieces, and recrossed the river in safety. A few days after he once more crossed the Delaware, evaded an overwhelming English force, pounced upon Princeton, and wholly defeated three English regiments. The courage of the patriots immediately revived. Washington, who had meanwhile received from Congress almost supreme power in war, raised sixteen battalions of regular troops and cleared New Jersey of the enemy.

202. Negotiations with France. — Negotiations for a French alliance were secretly carried on at Versailles since 1775. As yet, the government was averse to an open rupture with England, though popular opinion was

wholly on the side of America. Meanwhile the hatred of England which dominated the highest circles of the administration, procured to the struggling colonies large loans of money, arms, ammunition, exceptional facilities for the new American trade in French harbors, and the services of Lafayette and a number of other experienced officers. The presence of Benjamin Franklin in Paris created a general enthusiasm for America. Marie Antoinette promoted the cause with all her influence. Military talents of other nations joined the American army and aided its organization. Foremost among them were Count Pulaski, who had greatly distinguished himself in resisting the first division of Poland; Kosciusko, the hero of Poland's later national rising; Baron Steuben, a veteran of the Seven Years' War and late aid-de-camp of Frederic II., who became the real organizer of the American forces, and Baron Kalb, who had served under Marshal Saxe.

203. Southern Campaign of 1777. — The British planned two campaigns for the year, one to transfer the seat of war to southern Pennsylvania, the other to subdue the north from Canada. Howe embarked 18,000 men in the ships of his brother and entered the Chesapeake to obtain possession of Philadelphia. Washington with 13,000, of whom only 8,000 were fit for service, met him on the Brandywine, but was routed in spite of the valor of his troops under Sullivan, Lafayette, and Pulaski. On September 26, Philadelphia was occupied by Howe. Washington's attempt to storm his fortified camp at Germantown failed for lack of ammunition. Before the end of the year the two forts Mifflin and Mercer on the Delaware which commanded communication with the sea fell after a stubborn defense into the hands of the English.

The Americans wintered amid the most terrible sufferings at Valley Forge, some twenty miles from Philadelphia, where they had to contend with extreme poverty, with disease, famine, and desertions. Here Washington spent the darkest days of his life, unbroken and undismayed, trusting in God, to whom he would appeal with bended knees and tearful eyes. Still a goodly number of brave and faithful men shared with him all the privations of that frightful winter.

204. Surrender of Burgoyne, Oct. 17, 1777. — The plan pursued in the northern campaign was to cut the colonies in two by a simultaneous advance from Canada southward and New York northward. General Burgoyne with an army of 10,000 men, composed of Englishmen, Canadians, Germans, American Tories and Indians, took Crown Point, Ticonderoga and Fort Edward. Pro-

ceeding southward he sent a detachment of his army to Bennington, Vt., to destroy a rich depot of American stores. This detachment was defeated by the State militia. The American General Gates stopped the advance of Burgoyne in the first undecided battle of Stillwater or Bemis' Heights, crowned with the fortifications which Kosciusko had erected. In the second battle of Stillwater or Bemis' Heights, Gates defeated Burgoyne, who fell back upon Saratoga, only to find it in the hands of the enemy. He was surrounded by the Americans and had to surrender his entire army of about 6,000 men and all his arms and artillery.

205. **Organization and Treaties.** — In November, 1777, Congress, which had retreated to Lancaster, voted the Articles of Union and Confederation, which, for the time being, settled its constitution and powers, and defined the respective limits of both the Central and the State Governments of the UNITED STATES of America, and adopted the Stars and Stripes as the national flag. The Articles were successively ratified by the State Assemblies between 1778 and 1781.

The surrender of Burgoyne put an end to the hesitation of the French ministers. December 17, 1777, they informed the American commissioners that they were ready to conclude a treaty with the United States, and February 6, 1778, the treaty was signed. Each party agreed not to lay down their arms till the absolute independence of the United States should be secured by treaty. Spain joined the alliance in 1779 and stipulated that no peace should be made with England till Gibraltar was restored to Spain. The Dutch Netherlands acceded to the league in 1780.

The French alliance, though of the utmost importance to America, was not an unmixed blessing. The appointment of French officers in the army roused the jealousy and resentment of the Americans. The late despondency gave way to a feeling of security and overweening confidence. The States neglected to send in their quota of men and money, shifting the burdens of the war as much as possible on the French ally. Congress was helpless and at times almost penniless, and the army was as fluctuating, ill-paid, and ill-cared for in the second as it had been in the first period of the war.

Lecky, IV. 14, p. 1-96. — *Lives of Washington:* W. Irving; Lodge; Marshall; Scudder; J. Sparks; Upham, etc.; R. H. Clarke; A. C. Q., 21. — Ludlow: *The War of Am. Indep.* — Phinney: *Battle of Lexington.* — Howe: *Campaign of Burgoyne.* — *Histories of the U. St.*

§ 3.

THE UNITED STATES IN ALLIANCE WITH EUROPEAN POWERS, 1778–1783.

206. The King's War. — The panic which the French alliance caused in England was so great, that Lord North found no difficulty in carrying through Parliament acts which conceded every American demand made since 1763 save independence. On the other hand Congress rejected every offer of reconciliation not based on the recognition of independence. In this crisis the whole English nation clamored for Lord Chatham, whose name would have been a power against France, to take the management of affairs into his hands. But the King repeatedly affirmed, that no consideration in life would bring him to treat personally with Chatham. The "great commoner," however, soon after died of a stroke of apoplexy received in his last American speech in Parliament. George III. insisted that the war should be carried on in a more hostile spirit. No means of "distressing" the Americans should be neglected. Lord North continued the war in direct opposition to his own judgment at the sole entreaty of the king. Hence the war was popularly called "the king's war." The spirit of fiercer hostility in the English army soon manifested itself in numerous burning raids and depredations, in a frightful destruction of property and in the cruel treatment of American prisoners of war. France declared war against England towards the end of July, 1778.

207. Campaign of 1778. — The French alliance made itself felt at once in America. Henry Clinton, the successor in command of Howe, evacuated Philadelphia with his troops accompanied by 3,000 Tories, before the Americans took any active measure. Emerging from Valley Forge, Washington overtook the British at Monmouth Courthouse in New Jersey, and in spite of the blundering insubordination of General Lee inflicted a defeat on the English rear. Clinton with the main army retreated to New York. Washington took up his position in the Hudson river valley near Tarrytown. The British, who now held only two posts in the North, New York and Newport, R. I., removed their principal forces to the South, captured Savannah and overran Georgia.

The Iroquois, stirred up, led, and aided by American Tories, invaded the Susquehannah and Cherry valleys, and massacred the peaceful settlers with all the horrors of Indian warfare. These incursions were a crime committed without any military excuse, and could only embitter the strife and prove fatal to the Indians. Accordingly Congress, the following year, sent

General Sullivan into the Indian Territory to kill, burn and destroy till the country became a desert. The remnants of the hostile tribes took refuge in Canada. Similar race wars disgraced the campaign in the South.

208. Campaign of 1779. — In the North both parties were too weak to venture on a decisive action. In the South General Lincoln, assisted from the sea side by the French fleet, made an unsuccessful attempt to recapture Savannah. The rest of the campaign consisted in guerilla warfare, the capture and recapture of a few forts in New York, and plundering expeditions of the British in New York, Georgia, and South Carolina. But whilst the Americans lost ground in the South, they spread to the West. The "county" of Kentucky had been incorporated with Virginia since 1778 and 1779. The Americans advanced to the Northwest, drove out the English posts, surprised Kaskaskia, occupied the whole Illinois region, dislodged the Cherokees and other tribes south of the Ohio, took hold of Tennessee, fortified Natchez, and thus possessed themselves of the eastern half of the Mississippi valley.

209. Campaign of 1780. — In 1780 the English invaded South Carolina, captured Charleston, where they made 5,000 prisoners of war, including General Lincoln, and seized 400 cannon. Thence they overran the whole State. After signally defeating General Gates in the battle of Camden, where Baron Kalb was mortally wounded, they held for a short time undisputed sway from South Carolina to the Gulf. Their own severities, however, soon embittered the inhabitants and gave an opportunity to guerilla leaders like Marion, Sumpter, James Williams, to break forth from their hiding-places and swamps, and to keep up a war of surprises against the English. A British raiding expedition of 1,000 men into North Carolina was cut down or captured by the Americans.

210. Campaign of 1781. — In 1781 General Morgan utterly defeated the British cavalry under Tarleton in the battle of the Cowpens, S. C. He then joined General Greene, who had been appointed to succeed Gates. But both were obliged to fall back before Cornwallis, who defeated General Greene at Guilford Courthouse, N. C. Cornwallis' victory was a Pyrrhus victory, for his ranks

were so thinned that he was compelled to flee before Greene and his defeated Americans, till he reached Wilmington. From Wilmington, not suspecting that he was running into a trap, Cornwallis entered Virginia, where Benedict Arnold, now a British general, was plundering and laying waste the country.

Benedict Arnold, who had been disciplined by Congress for some financial irregularities, had treasonably bargained with Clinton to give up the fortress of West Point which he commanded. The treason was discovered by the capture of Major André, an English officer, who acted as Clinton's messenger. Major André was convicted as a spy by the unanimous sentence of a court-martial consisting of fourteen generals, two of them Lafayette and Baron Steuben, and executed. The justice of the sentence cannot be reasonably impugned; Washington, always eminently humane, acted without passion and from a conviction of duty in the case. Arnold escaped to New York and was made a brigadier-general.

In South Carolina General Greene, though defeated at Hobskirk Hill and Eutaw Springs, inflicted a far greater loss on the enemy than he suffered himself. He forced the English to seek shelter in Charleston and kept them there to the end of the war. Savannah and Charleston were now the only places held by the British south of Virginia.

211. **Movements of the First French Fleet.** — Admiral D'Estaing arrived in 1778 with 16 ships and 4,000 men at the mouth of the Delaware. Finding that Howe's fleet had already left, he sailed to New York, which he blockaded for a time. Unable to cross the bar at Sandy Hook, he proceeded to Newport, Rhode Island, and entered the harbor. The land army which was to co-operate with him, was a week behind time. When it appeared at last, Admiral Howe hove in sight, and D'Estaing went out to meet him. A terrible storm separated the fleets, and forced the French Admiral to refit in Boston. In November he sailed to the West Indies.

212. **The General War.** — The war which had begun in the colonies, spread in 1778 to all parts of the world. There was a drawn battle off Brest between the French and the English fleets. Paul Jones, a Scotchman in American service, harried the western coast of England, burnt the shipping at Whitehaven, and captured two English men-of-war in the North Sea; twice the French fleet, assisted by Spanish ships, ruled the Channel and forced the English vessels to seek shelter. In the West Indies towns and islands were taken and retaken by the English and the French. In Africa Senegal was conquered by the French, and Goree by the English.

In East India the British land and sea forces captured all the French settlements and got embroiled in a war with Hyder Ali, ruler of Mysore, one of the most formidable foes ever encountered by the English in India, and in another war with the Mahrattas. The Spaniards concentrated their chief efforts on the unsuccessful attempt of reconquering Gibraltar which was twice relieved by an English fleet with great loss to the Spanish navy. The Spanish conquered in Europe the island of Minorca, and in America Pensacola and all western Florida. The Dutch fleet fought a drawn battle with the English in the North sea. They were the greatest losers in the war, for they lost all their East and West India possessions, and barely saved with French aid their South American and African colonies.

213. Armed Neutrality at Sea. — The frequent captures and searches of neutral ships in the American war led to the international agreement called "Armed Neutrality." It was directed against the English pretensions to interfere in time of war with the commerce of neutral nations. Catharine II. of Russia took the lead in the negotiations which resulted in the acceptance by a majority of European Powers of the following principles: Neutral vessels may navigate from harbor to harbor along the coasts of belligerent powers. All goods of belligerents which are not declared contraband by treaty, may be lawfully carried by neutral vessels. A harbor is not lawfully blockaded except when the ships of the enemy are in control of the entrance. The principles of the armed neutrality were accepted by France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden (1780), the Emperor, Prussia (1782), and Portugal (1783). Without formally accepting them England submitted to them for the time.

214. Final Campaign at Yorktown. — In March, 1781, Admiral De Grasse embarked at Brest with 29 men of war, 6,000 men and a convoy of over 100 ships, sailed for the West Indies, where the French had already a complete naval ascendency, conquered the rich island of Tobago, and, reinforced in San Domingo, made for the North American waters. Meanwhile Cornwallis was devastating Virginia, ruthlessly destroying property to the amount of 15,000,000 dollars. He gradually concentrated his forces at Yorktown, situated at the mouths of the St. James and York rivers. Washington was planning an attack on New York. For this purpose he called from Rhode Island the French forces of Rochambeau, who had landed the year before at Newport after its evacuation by the

English. Meanwhile Lafayette strongly urged Washington to march upon Yorktown. Keeping Clinton in feverish excitement by dispatches intended to fall into his hands about an attack on New York, Washington and Rochambeau succeeded in withdrawing their principal forces to the south, whilst Clinton was busy fortifying against an imaginary foe. At the same time the powerful fleet of DeGrasse appeared in the Chesapeake and was still further reinforced by the French squadron of Rhode Island. When Washington and Rochambeau joined Lafayette in the investment of Yorktown, the position of Cornwallis became absolutely untenable. After a siege of twenty days he was obliged to capitulate and his 7,000 men became prisoners of war. The surrender of Cornwallis virtually terminated the War of Independence. The British evacuated Savannah in July, and Charleston in December, 1782.

Lecky: IV., 14, p. 97-220; 15, p. 221-288. — Brougham: *Statesmen during the Reign of G. III.* — Patton: *Yorktown.* — Carrington: *Battles of the Revol.* — Ramsay; J. Fiske: *Am. Revol.* — *Life of Gen. Greene,* by his Grandson. — Mackenzie: *Life of Paul Jones.* — J. N. Arnold: *L. of B. Arnold.* — Clarke: *France's Aid to Am.* A. C. Q., 22. — *George III. and Lord North:* E. R. '67, 3. — Davis: *Employment of Indian Auxiliaries in the Am. W.:* E. H. R., 2, 4.

§ 4.

THE PEACE OF PARIS AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

215. Peace of Paris and Versailles, 1783. — The surrender of Cornwallis brought about the resignation of the ministry of Lord North.

An armistice was declared and commissioners appointed to negotiate a peace. The negotiations were retarded on the part of Spain, by her desire to regain Gibraltar, and hastened forward, on the part of France, by a great victory of Rodney over DeGrasse in the West Indies. The American commissioners, not without some treachery toward France, concluded with the Sherborne ministry a separate preliminary peace, 1782.

The final treaty, the Peace of Paris and Versailles, was signed September 3, 1783. The principal stipulations were: 1. The independence of the United States. The vast territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi was acknowledged as part of the United States, England ceding a large tract of what had been joined

to Canada by the Quebec Act. The Mississippi was made the boundary between the American and the Spanish territories, England retaining the right of free navigation. The Americans obtained the right of fishing on all the banks of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence without granting a similar right to British subjects along the coast of the United States.

2. France secured the right of fishing off Newfoundland and of fortifying two small islands in the neighborhood; the possession of Tobago in the West Indies, Senegal and Goree in Africa, and the restitution of her East Indian possessions.

3. Spain's efforts to obtain Gibraltar either by arms or by negotiations failed. England, however, ceded to Spain the island of Minorca, and East and West Florida.

4. England concluded a peace with Holland (1783) and with Tipoo of Singalore (1784) on the basis of mutual restoration, except that Holland lost Negapatam.

216. **The Federation, 1781–1788.** — The Articles of Federation proved insufficient to bring order out of the political chaos which accompanied and followed the War of Independence. The only bond of union was Congress, composed of the delegates of the different States. No provision existed for a chief magistracy or a national judiciary. Foreign affairs, the defense of the country in time of war, coinage, the post-office, were intrusted to Congress, but it had no power to force the payment of its own expenses, of the salaries due the army, or of its foreign debt. Public confidence was shaken; the unpaid army was more than once in a state of mutiny. An insurrection of farmers in Massachusetts, whose ultimate object was the repudiation of public and private debts and a redistribution of property, had to be put down by General Lincoln. Congress was powerless to defend the Tories from mob violence and from legal persecution by the States, so that 100,000 persons were driven out of the country. England distributed $16,000,000 among 4,000 destitute refugees, and continued to hold her military posts in the ceded territory by way of indemnity. Disputes arose between different States, some on account of commercial jealousies, others from conflicting territorial claims. Each State endeavored to secure the lion's share in the acquisitions of the war. The credit of the United States rapidly sank in Europe. Under these circumstances the best men of the country prevailed on the States to send delegates to a Constitutional Convention.

217. The Constitution. — The Convention met in Philadelphia, May, 1787, and chose George Washington its president. It was only

after long and heated debates between the Federalists, who favored a single government for the entire Union, and the Anti-federalists, who advocated the existing league of independent sovereignties, that the Convention was able to draft and sign the Constitution of the United States to be submitted to the people for ratification.

The Constitution was a compromise, both between the two parties and between the large and the small States. It was, however, on the whole, a victory of the Federalists. The government of the United States was divided into three departments, the legislative, the judiciary, and the executive. The Federal Congress was to consist of two houses, the House of Representatives elected by the people, and the Senate elected by the State legislatures. The popular election of the representatives satisfied the large States by giving them representation according to population. The election of an equal number of Senators from all States preserved the political equality of the small States. The executive power was vested in the President, chosen by electors for a term of four years, the electors to be chosen by the people. As to the judiciary department, a Federal Supreme Court was provided by the Constitution, and the creation of lower Federal Courts was left to Congress.

Before August, 1788, all the States except Rhode Island and North Carolina adopted the Constitution. The two States being treated as foreign nations came to terms in 1789 and 1790 respectively. The Continental Congress dispersed without the formality of an adjournment. George Washington was duly elected first President of the United States and inaugurated April 30, 1789.

C. Ellis Stevens: *Sources of the Constitution of the U. St.* — Dr. O. Brownson: *The Am. Constitution.* — McMaster: *Hist. of the People of the U. St.*, v. I. — J. Fiske: *Critical Period of Am. Hist.; Civil Government in the U. St.* — Bancroft: *Hist. of the Formation of the Const.* — De Tocqueville-Reeve: *Democracy in America.* — *The Framers and the Framing of the Const.:* Century Mag., '77 (Sept.). — *Madison's and Yates' Notes of Proceedings in the Convention, in Elliot's Debates*, v. IV.

Other Works for Consultation: *Histories of the U. St.*, especially by: Bancroft; Doyle; Hildreth; Laboulaye; Newmann; Schouler, etc. *Short Histories*, by: Channing; Hassard; Johnston; McMaster; Scudder. — v. Weiss, v. 14.

THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. 1775-1783.

Causes.— 1. The expulsion of the French from Canada made the colonies independent of English protection.

2. Conflicting claims. The British Parliament claimed the right of taxing, and binding the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

3. The colonies rejected taxation without representation as tyranny, but demanded representation in the colonies, not in Parliament.

4. The intention of the mother country to establish a British army in the colonies.

5. Navigation, Trade, and other Acts resented in the colonies. (*a*) *Stamp Act*, 1765-66. (*b*) *Tax on tea*, etc., 1767; modified in 1780. (*c*) *The Five Acts* of 1774. (Boston port closed. Mass. Charter revoked. Change of venue in murder trials. Troops quartered on colonists. *Quebec Act*.)

6. Open conflict between British and colonial authorities. (*a*) *Boston massacre*, 1770. (*b*) *Regulators in S. C.*, 1771. (*c*) Destruction of the *Gaspe*, 1772. (*d*) *Boston Tea Party*, 1773. (*e*) *Continental Congress*, 1774, which rejected all Acts Parliament passed since 1764. (*f*) The affair of *Lexington* and *Concord*, 1775.

7. Events taking place after the opening of the war. (*a*) *Declaration of Independence*, and appointment of **WASHINGTON** as Commander-in-chief by the Congress of Philadelphia, 1776. (*b*) Articles of *Confederation and Perpetual Union* of "*The United States of America*," agreed upon in Congress, 1777. (*c*) The Articles ratified by the different States, 1778-81. (*d*) Federation of the Thirteen States, 1781–88.

Belligerents.— The Thirteen Colonies, since 1777, the United States of North America isolated, 1775–78; in alliance with *France* (*Louis XVI.*, 1774–1793) 1778–83; in alliance with *Spain* (*Charles III.*, 1759–1788) 1779–83; with *Holland*, 1780–83, against *England* under *George III.* (1760–1820). War ministry of *Lord North*. In East India the chief opponents of England were the *Mahrattas*, and *Hyder Ali*, ruler of *Mysore* and his son *Typoo Saib*.

	Campaigns.	*Military Operations.*	*Victory of:*
1775.	*Siege of Boston*, 1775–76. Unsuccessful invasion of *Canada*, 1775–76.	*Lexington* and *Concord*.	Minute men vs. Gen *Gage*.
		Bunker (*Breed's*) *Hill*.	
		Ticonderoga and *Crown Point* seized by	*Ethan Allen* and *Seth Warner*.
		Surrender of *Boston* by	Gen. *Howe* to *Washington*.
1776.	*Clinton's* unsuccessful descent upon *Charleston*. *Long Island Campaign*.	*Long Island*.	The *Howes* over *Putnam*.
		White Plains.	The British over *Washington*.
		Trenton (Dec. 26).	*Washington* over Hessians
		Princeton (Jan. 3, 1777).	*Washington* over the British.
1777.	1. *Howe's* Campaign in *Pennsylvania*. The capture of Forts *Mifflin* and *Mercer* gave Howe control of the *Delaware* and of the sea. Washington, after his defeat, wintered at *Valley Forge*.	*Brandywine*.	*Howe* over *Washington*.
		Philadelphia taken by	*Howe*.
		Germantown.	*Howe* over *Washington*.
	2. *Burgoyne's* campaign. Descent from *Canada*.	*Bennington*.	*Stark* over *Baum*.
		First battle of *Bemis' Heights*, (Freeman's Farm).	*Gates* over *Burgoyne*.
	3. The naval war spread to French, British, and Irish waters. *Paul Jones'* cruises (1777–80).	Second battle of *Bemis' Heights*, *Saratoga*.	**BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER** (Oct. 17).
1778.	1. *Evacuation of Philadelphia* by *Henry Clinton*, due to the French alliance. Washington in the Hudson Valley. — British and Indian raids. (*Wyoming* and *Cherry Valley* massacres.)	*Monmouth Courthouse*.	*Washington* over *Clinton's* rear.

THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. 1775-1783. — *Continued.*

	2. In the South; gradual loss of *Georgia*.	*Savannah* captured by	*Col. Campbell.*
	3. Arrival of *d'Estaing's* fleet at Newport, Boston, and the West Indies.		
	4. The war spreading to the West and East Indies, and to Africa.		
1779.	1. *In the North* the British were reduced to *New York* and *Newport*, whence they made plundering expeditions north and southward. *Newport* evacuated.	*Stony Point* captured by	*Anthony Wayne.*
	2. The *Six Nations* reduced by *Gen. Sullivan.*		
	3. American advance in the *West; Kentucky, Illinois, Tennessee*, etc., secured.		
	4. The Spaniards overran the *Floridas.*		
1780.	1. *South Carolina* and the territory stretching to the *Gulf* lost to the Americans. Patriots reduced to *Guerilla warfare* (*Sumter* and *Marion*). *Rochambeau's* arrival at *Newport*. Treason of *Benedict Arnold*. *Andrés'* execution.	*Charleston* taken by *Camden.* *King's Mountain.*	*Clinton.* *Cornwallis* over *Gates.* *Greene* over *Ferguson.*
1781.	*Chief campaign in the South.* The British gradually driven into *Savannah* and *Charleston*. Main army concentrating in *Virginia*. Siege of *Yorktown* by *Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau*, and the fleet of *de Grasse.*	*Cowpens.* *Guildford Courthouse.* *Eutaw.*	*Greene* and *Morgan* over *Tarleton.* *Cornwallis* over *Greene.* British over *Greene.*
		FALL OF YORKTOWN. SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS TO WASHINGTON.	
		Evacuation of *Savannah* and *Charleston* (New York evac. 1783).	

CONCLUSION OF PEACE.— *Preliminary Peace* between the *United States* and *England*, 1782. **PEACE OF PARIS** (betw. U. St. and England) and **VERSAILLES** (between *England* and *France*, and *England* and *Spain*), 1783.

Terms —1. The independence of the U. St. acknowledged.
2. The *Mississippi* to form the boundary between the *American* and *Spanish* possessions.
3. England accorded the right of *free navigation* on the *Mississippi*.
4. *Fishery rights* of the *U. St.* and *France* off *Newfoundland*, recognized.
5. *England* ceded Minorca and the *Floridas* to Spain.
6. *France* obtained Tobago in the West Indies, Senegal and Goree in Africa, and her East India possessions.
7. *Holland* lost Negapatam to England in a separate treaty.
8. Restoration of conquests to *Tipoo Saib*, 1784.

AFTER THE PEACE.— The period of federation proved a period of military, political, and financial confusion, of lack of revenue and infraction of treaties by the separate States. Hence the **CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF PHILADELPHIA** under the presidency of *Washington*, 1787. Compromises between Federalists and Anti-federalists, small States and large States, free and slave States. **CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,** 1787.

The Constitution adopted by eleven States, 1788.

The Constitution adopted by Rhode Island, 1789.

The Constitution adopted by North Carolina, 1790.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *first President of the United States*, 1789–97.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

§ 1.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (LA CONSTITUANTE).

218. The States General Summoned. — Louis XVI. had meanwhile sanctioned many reforms and restored the Parliament of Paris, which, however, soon became a thorn in his side. Advised by his ministers, he had granted civil rights to the Protestants, abolished the torture preliminary to trials, abolished the unpaid labor of tenants for their lords, emancipated his own serfs, diminished the expenses of his household, introduced reforms in hospitals and prisons, and in 1784, the year of inundations and epidemics, had aided the suffering people to the amount of 3,000,000 livres. But the building up of the marine, and the American war, had notwithstanding Necker's economical administration (1776–81), increased the deficit to nearly half of the yearly income. An Assembly of Notables in 1778 brought no relief. The King was sincere in his desire to abolish privileges of taxation. But the Parliament of Paris uncompromisingly resisted additional taxation to be levied on privileged property, though it was absolutely necessary and would have lightened the burden of the people.

The King finally resolved to summon the States General, which had not met since 1614, and, in 1788, recalled Necker to office. Before the meeting of the States, the King collected statements of grievances (cahiers) from every part of the kingdom, granted a double representation to the Third Estate, and admitted to the Assembly of the Clergy a majority of parish priests as more familiar with the sufferings of the people. In March, 1789, at the opening of the primaries, nearly all the nobility and the entire clergy declared themselves willing to renounce their immunities from taxation.

219. The National Assembly. — The States General were opened by the King at Versailles May 5, 1789. There were about

1200 deputies present, 300 of the nobility, 300 of the clergy, and 600 of the Third Estate, or Commoners. The great majority were determined that reforms should be made, but convinced at the same time that the government would never make the necessary reforms. Whilst the powers of the members were being verified, a dispute arose as to whether the Assembly should sit and vote in separate chambers or in one chamber. Historically the States General had always acted in three houses. The Third Estate, reinforced by Lafayette, the Duke of Orleans, 45 other nobles, and 114 of the clergy, voted for one chamber. The deadlock caused by their vote lasted over a month. Upon the motion of Abbé Sieyès, who in a widely-spread pamphlet had boldly declared the supremacy of the Third Estate, the 600 commoners finally assumed the title of the Constituent Assembly and invited the clergy and the nobles to join them (June 17). Thereupon the hall was closed by the court, and the meetings suspended for three days. On June 20, the members resorted to a neighboring tennis court, chose the mathematician Bailly president, and took an oath not to separate until they had given a new Constitution to the realm. Five Archbishops and Bishops, 143 parish priests, and a few nobles joined the Assembly. June 23 the King appeared in the Assembly. Louis XVI. invited the deputies to meet in three houses, and proposed a series of reforms, which would have made France a constitutional monarchy and have swept away nearly all the abuses in its government. When after the King's departure the master of ceremonies asked the president, whether he had heard the royal order, Count Mirabeau, who had entered the States General as a representative of the Third Estate, rose and answered that the deputies would quit their seats only at the point of the bayonet. Subsequently the King himself requested the nobility and the clergy to join the Third Estate. The King thus accepted the principle that changes should be made without regard to historic precedents and vested rights, i. e., the principle of revolution.

220. The Storming of the Bastille, July 14. — The gardens adjoining the Palais Royal, the residence of the Duke of Orleans, were the center of the revolutionary agitation. Here Camille Desmoulins

and other leaders expounded the "Social Contract," inveighed against the royal troops, and stirred up the masses to revolt.

The dismissal of Necker (July 11), was the signal for an outbreak of riots and pillage. Stores and arsenals were plundered for arms, and 20,000 guns and 20 cannon were soon in the hands of the populace. Most of the soldiers abandoned the King and fraternized with the mob. The 120 electors of the 60 districts of Paris, who had chosen the city deputies to the Assembly, established themselves in the city hall (Hotel de Ville), usurped the municipal government, and organized a national guard of 40,000 men. On July 14, the people attacked the Bastille or State prison for five hours. It could not be taken by force, but, compelled by his men, De Launey, the commander, surrendered on condition that no harm should be done. Only seven prisoners, who all deserved their fate, were found in this "stronghold of tyranny." On rushing in the populace instantly killed five officers and three men. De Launey was murdered in the street and his head stuck on a pike. The mob triumphed. Necker was recalled. Bailly was chosen mayor of Paris, Lafayette, commander of the National Guard. The feeble and pacific King accepted the situation.

Other scenes of horrible murder followed, such as the massacre of the Invalids or disabled veterans. Proscription lists of the most prominent men of France, beginning with the Count of Artois, the king's second brother, were made up at the Palais Royal, and a price set on the head of the victims. Foulon, the old minister of war, and Berthier, both benefactors of the people on a large scale, were ruthlessly murdered in the streets; and Foulon's head and Berthier's heart carried on poles to the Palais Royal. With the fall of the Bastille ancient royalty and all regular government were destroyed. Power passed from the King and the National Assembly to the mob. In all France began that career of anarchy, the reign of terror, which was crushed out only by the despotism of Napoleon.

221. Composition of the National Assembly. — Of the 600 deputies belonging to the Third Estate about 360 were jurists, the rest authors, merchants, farmers (38), and men of inferior positions. All were novices in legislation, inexperienced in parliamentary rules, and most of them intoxicated with the doctrines of Rousseau. The Assembly was divided into four parties: (1) The Right comprised the members sitting to the right of the president in the hall, which had the form of an amphitheater; they were royalists and aristocrats; most of the nobles and the upper clergy

belonged to this party (Cazalès, the Abbé Maury, Espremenil, etc.). (2) The small minority of the Right Center comprised deputies of all the three orders, and favored a constitution like that of the English Parliament with two houses dominated by the landed proprietors (Mounier, Malouet, Lally Tolendal). (3) The Center and Left numbered 7–800 members, parish priests, and the great number of the commoners, and aimed at government by the middle classes under a constitutional monarchy (MIRABEAU, Abbé Sieyès, Barnave). (4) The Extreme Left, about thirty advocates of a democratic republic formed the only compact party voting in a body (Robespierre, Petion). The three other parties constantly voted on opposite sides and without preconcerted action. This assembly of 1,200 men, too unwieldy for practical purposes and abounding in violent declaimers, was naturally exposed to paroxysms of enthusiasm or of terror, easily swayed by the frequent street riots, or carried away by the boldness of the revolutionary extremists. The deputies became the slaves of the galleries, and of its unruly crowd of 750 clubmen from the Palais Royal, all hired and effective shouters. The leaders of this crowd received their orders from the club, and gave the signal to their men when to cheer and when to hoot. They circulated in the city and in the provinces lists of unpopular members, thus exposing them and their families to the fury of the revolutionary mobs. Obnoxious deputies or unpopular officials were insulted and maltreated wherever they appeared in public; some were murdered by the rabble. The result was, that before the completion of the Constitution the whole of the moderate and constitutional opposition was reduced either to flight or to silence.

222. The October Days; Louis XVI. in Paris. — Whilst the Assembly was engaged in tearing down the ancient régime, hunger and agitation drove the populace of Paris to new excesses. An imprudent demonstration of army officers who in presence of the King and the Queen had replaced the tricolor, the emblem of the revolution, by the royal white cockade, exasperated both the people and the National Guards. On October 4th, according to a preconcerted plan favored by the Duke of Orleans, 15,000 National Guards in mutiny, preceded by 800 hungry and dissolute women, and followed by 10,000 ruffians, marched to Versailles. The first bands reaching Versailles broke into the Assembly hall and shouted in reply to the speeches: "Bread! bread! not so many words!" Lafayette who had been forced to join the National Guards, arrived before midnight. At daybreak (October 5), the mob forced the door of the palace, killed some royal guards and wounded others, and swarmed into the

rooms, even to the private apartments of the Queen and the King, where they insulted the royal family, while the immense crowd before the palace shouted: "To Paris with the King!" With great difficulty Lafayette succeeded in saving the Queen from personal violence. The King who always shrank from the shedding of blood consented to transfer his residence and the seat of the Assembly to Paris, thus handing over himself, his family and the dynasty to the tender mercy of the sanguinary rabble of the city.

The King, a virtual prisoner, resided henceforth in the palace of the Tuileries, protected by Lafayette's men. The Assembly established itself in a neighboring riding school. Two hundred conservative deputies resigned their seats and still more weakened the party of order. Again, many noblemen and courtiers fled the country.

223. Anarchy in France.—The state of the country was a reflex of the state of the capital. The people of France were made desperate by the famine which followed the bad harvest and the severe winter of 1788. Mobs ranging from 5,000 to 25,000 hungry men and women went in quest of food wherever it could be found. Convoys of wheat were captured on the roads. Towns raided rural districts, and rural districts cut off the supplies of the towns. In the four months preceding the fall of the Bastille over 300 popular outbreaks and bread riots occurred all over France. In the city and in the provinces, vagabonds, escaped convicts, deserters, and smugglers took the lead in these riots. A general war against public and private property broke out. The people recognized no creditor, least of all, the State. Debts and taxes were no longer paid. Tax collectors were assailed, maltreated, killed. Forests were devastated; castles, monasteries, convents demolished; tax rolls, records, registers, titles to property or to rentals and charters of privileges delivered to the flames. When the National Guards were introduced all over France, 400,000 guns were transferred from the military authorities to the people. Citadels were captured from the regular troops, or surrendered to the National Guards. Outbreaks in the army and in the navy became of daily occurrence. On one occasion the whole squadron lying at Brest numbering 20,000 men mutinied against the Admiral and the National Assembly. Insubordination compelled thousands of

officers to emigrate. This state of anarchy waxed worse, year by year, as the revolution progressed.

Lecky, V. 21, p. 443-489. — *Louis XVI. Political and Confidential Correspondence.* — Mignet: *Hist. of the Fr. Rev., Introduction.* — W. Smyth: *Lectures on the Hist. of the Fr. Rev.* I. Lect. 6. 8. etc. — Croker: *Early Period of the Fr. Rev.* — *France 1783-99*, E. R. '83, 1. — Young: *Travels in France 1787-89.* — *Mirabeau:* Willert (*Foreign Statesmen*); Holst (*French Rev. tested by M's Career*); E. R.' 97, 4; (*Family of*) Pfülf (St. v. 44); E. Dumont, (*Recollections of*). — B. Tuckerman: *Life of Lafayette.* See also *Histories of the Revol.* to §§ 5, 6 and 7. *The Fall of the Ancient Régime*, Q. R. '93, 3. — *The Bastille*, Q. R. '97, 4.

§ 2.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1789.

224. The Work of Three Months. — As early as August 4, the Assembly with the full and voluntary concurrence of the clergy and the nobles declared the feudal order destroyed, nullified all exemptions not only of the privileged classes, but also the privileges of provinces, towns, corporations and guilds, and opened civil, military, and ecclesiastical preferments to all citizens without regard to birth.

The declaration of the "Rights of Man," Aug. 27, proclaimed the sovereignty of the people, freedom of religious opinions, freedom of the press, the right of resisting oppression (right of revolution), the natural and civil equality of all men, as taught by the new philosophy. Whilst the rights of men were thus theoretically asserted, they were practically trampled under foot by the Revolution.

By other decrees the Assembly abrogated without indemnity all the dues payable to Pope, bishop and clergy, and to nobles as local lords. Dues payable to nobles as landed proprietors were made redeemable at a fixed rate, but were discarded by the people already in general revolt. The clergy consented to the entire abolition of the tithes. Subsequently the nobility itself with its territorial names and armorial bearings was abolished.

Thus in the short space of three months the Revolution had covered an immense field. (1) It had changed the States General into the Constituent Assembly. (2) It had forced the King to recognize its supremacy. (3) It had cleared the ground for a new Constitution by destroying the whole framework of institutions based on the public law of a thousand years.

225. Legislative Assembly. — The new Constitution, as it gradually emerged from the interminable speech-making of the deputies,

was based on these principles: The person of the King as the highest executive officer, is inviolable; the crown is hereditary with the male-line; the King has to proclaim the laws; the legislative power resides in the nation to which all officers are responsible; private property and personal liberty are inviolable. The future Legislative Assembly was made absolute and independent. It was to consist of one Chamber with the sole right of initiating laws. A second chamber was rejected as too aristocratic. The legislative term was to be two years. The 745 representatives of the nation were chosen by electors, the electors by the active citizens or voters assembled at the primaries. An active citizen was to be 25 years of age, a tax-payer to the amount of at least three days' wages, and had to serve in the National Guard. The tax qualification divided the inhabitants of France into 4,300,000 active and 1,700,000 passive citizens.

226. The King. —The Constitution deprived the King of all real power. He lacked the right to propose any law or to dissolve the Legislative Assembly. His veto could suspend the adoption of a measure only for two legislative terms. He could not declare war or conclude peace or foreign treaties without the consent of the Assembly. He had no command over the army or the National Guard, and was deprived of the right of pardon. His ministers had no appointive powers. The King became the mere executive servant of the Assembly.

227. Administration. — The old historical provinces, governments, parliaments and courts were all abolished. France was divided, on a plea of perfect uniformity, into 83 departments, named after rivers and mountains. The departments were subdivided into 374 districts and the districts into cantons.

The 44,000 communes or municipalities of France were left unchanged. Each department and each district had a local assembly composed of a general council, and an executive directory. There was a civil court to each district and a criminal court to each canton, chosen by the respective political body. Petty causes were decided by justices of the peace elected by the cantons. Every appointment in the civil, military and naval administration was made by a com-

plicated system of elections. The only real power resided in the lowest political unit, the commune. The municipal officers alone could order about the military forces of the country. France was now a conglomeration of 44,000 republics.

A number of the measures, such as the judicial reforms, the admission of competent men to offices, the better distribution of taxes, the removal of the custom houses to the frontiers, were good and necessary. But they could have been obtained without rebellion, irreligion, bloodshed, and wholesale destruction of all the landmarks of human society, and their operation throughout the Revolution was frustrated by mob law.

228. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy. — The war against the Church began with the abolition of Religious Orders and the prohibition of monastic vows (February, 1790). Next came the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July), passed by the irreligious Left, and under the terrorism of the galleries against the dignified protest of the Archbishop of Aix, Abbé Maury, Cazalès, of 200 deputies of the Right, and of 30 bishops in the Assembly and 105 outside. The bishops were henceforth to be elected by the citizens of the departments, and the parish priests by the citizens of the districts, including Calvinist, Lutheran, Jewish, and infidel voters. The appointed bishop was forbidden to apply to the Pope for confirmation. As the diocese was made coextensive with the department, 48 bishoprics with their seminaries were suppressed. Upon the motion of Talleyrand, the apostate bishop of Autun, the ecclesiastical estates were declared national property, the State paying the salaries of the clergy. Thus was the Catholic Church in France separated from the center of unity, shorn of its divine constitution, and established on a democratic and Presbyterian basis. Out of 130 archbishops, bishops, and coadjutors only four, three of whom were skeptics and profligates, took the required oath on the Civil Constitution. Out of 70,000 priests nearly 50,000 refused to take the oath. There was henceforth a schism in the Church and in the nation between the sworn and unsworn or refractory priests and their adherents.

The non-juring priests were expelled from their cures. The majority of the faithful were on the side of the non-juring priests and shared in their persecutions.

229. Effect of the New Legislation. — In conformity with this legislation the apostate Gobel, sacrilegiously consecrated by Talleyrand, in his turn consecrated other constitutional bishops and was chosen Archbishop of Paris by 500 voters. Talleyrand and others returned to the state of laymen. Loyal Catholics refused to receive the sacraments from constitutional priests. Non-juring priests were not only ejected, but against all laws deported and tortured even to death; 37,000 nuns were deprived of their peaceful retreats, among them 14,000 sisters of charity driven from the hospitals and thousands of teachers expelled from the only schools for girls then in France. The abolition of the tithes did not benefit the poor, but made a present of 60,000,000 to landholders who alone had paid the tithes since the days of Charles the Great. An investment of four billions of Church property, piled up through generations for the benefit of the children, the poor, the infirm, the sick, was deviated from its purposes and pocketed by the revolutionary State. All associations for pious, charitable, missionary, and educational purposes were dissolved, the seminaries and colleges confiscated, the crown lands divided, and the way was opened for further robberies by the Legislative Assembly and the Convention, and for the despotic socialism of the Reign of Terror, which swept away all academies of science, all literary and mercantile societies with their libraries, museums, botanical gardens, banks, and investments. The confiscation of the Church and the crown lands from which the State was wont to pay its salaries and expenses, forced the revolutionary governments to issue paper money, the so-called assignats, and drove the country into bankruptcy.

Pius VI., in 1791, condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, suspended all sworn priests, and declared the new ecclesiastical elections invalid and sacrilegious. Thereupon the revolutionists marched into the Papal territories of Avignon and Venaissin and annexed them to France. Hundreds of inhabitants were murdered with barbarous atrocity for their loyalty to the Pope, and their property was plundered by the Jacobins.

230. The National Federation, July 14, 1790. — During the spring of 1790, federations, or feasts of union in honor of the Constitution, were held all over France. At the Federation of Paris in which deputations of the National Guards from every department took part, Louis XVI. took the oath to maintain the Constitution, and the people swore fealty to the King. This sentiment of the union of classes was but a phantastic illusion. The clergy were bound in conscience to reject the Civil Constitution. The nobility could not love an instrument which deprived them of all their rights

without compensation. On the other hand, Desmoulins, Brissot, Danton, Marat, Robespierre, in fact all the radicals hated the Constitution because they hated the King, the royal veto, the restriction of the franchise, and the measures of Lafayette to preserve at least a semblance of order. The radicals soon became the chief power in the State on account of their club organizations. The Revolution had one of its most powerful aids in the political "Clubs."

231. **Clubs.** — The Club of Cordeliers, numbering Desmoulins, Hébert, Marat, and other terrorists among its members, met under the presidency of Danton in a monastery of Franciscans, whose name they adopted. The Jacobin Club was originally founded at Marseilles by a number of deputies in 1789 (Club Breton). In Paris the Club moved into the library of the Jacobins, a suppressed monastery of the Dominicans. The numerous offshoots of this Club overspread the whole territory of France. After the fall of the throne there were 26,000 Jacobin Clubs in the country, keeping up constant correspondence with the Central Club and obeying orders from Paris. The Jacobin Club owed its rising power to the apathy of the law-abiding citizens and to the unscrupulous energy of its members. Peace-loving citizens stayed at home rather than spend one-sixth of all their time in primaries, the elections and guard service, and thus left the elections to the Jacobins. Besides, decent people were kept away from the polls by the threats, domiciliary visits, ill-treatment, riots, and murders perpetrated by the faction. Thus at the Paris primary elections for the Legislative Assembly in 1791, 74,000 out of 81,000 registered voters failed to respond. The same proportion held good in the departments. Owing to these abstentions the Jacobins secured in 1791 one-third, in 1792 the whole of the elective offices. Still the number of Jacobins compared with that of the inhabitants of France was always small. In Paris at the time of the greatest disturbances, the Jacobins including the paid bandits and cut-throats, did not number more than 10,000 in a population of 7–800,000 souls. In the departments there was on an average but one Jacobin to 15 electors. All the Jacobins of France did not amount to 500,000.

232. **Flight of the Royal Family, June 20, 1791.** — The position of the King and Queen meanwhile became intolerable. The Queen in whom suffering had brought out the traits of a noble and courageous character, devoted all her thoughts to save France to her husband and son. The King, already deeply wounded in his religious feelings by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, saw himself moreover deprived of his body guard and frequently exposed to the menaces and insults of the Jacobins. Flight was their only hope. The Queen had made some arrangements for the emergency with her brother, Emperor Leopold, who promised to place a force on the frontiers of Luxemburg.

On June 20, the King, disguised as a valet, the Queen with her two children, and Madame Elizabeth, the King's sister, secretly left Paris for the army of the North under the loyal Bouillé. The fugitives were recognized at Varennes and taken back to Paris as prisoners. On hearing of the King's flight the Assembly forthwith suspended him from all royal functions. Louis had left behind him a memorial in which he protested that he had signed the lawless proceedings of the Assembly only because he had no power to resist them and explained his intention of withdrawing for a time from the capital in order to appeal in freedom to his people. The Radicals declared the memorial of the King to be treason to the nation and clamored for his deposition and for the proclamation of the Republic. The Constitutionalists felt themselves in honor bound to stand by the King and the Constitution; moreover they feared an attack of the Jacobins on themselves if they yielded. Accordingly the majority of the Assembly resolved to restore executive power to the King if he would accept the Constitution as a whole in the completed form. For the first and only time the National Assembly nerved itself to maintain order by force, and Lafayette suppressed with some bloodshed a Republican rising.

This so-called Massacre of the Champ de Mars disrupted the Jacobins. The Constitutionalists founded a new club, the Feuillants, so called from a monastery of that name, but they were unable to introduce those conservative features into the Constitution which would have given the King some real power.

233. Dissolution of the National Assembly. — When, after a few changes, the Constitution was finally adopted as a whole, the King accepted it in the hope that its defects would be revealed in its practical operation. In the meantime he kept his oath to the letter. Some time before its dissolution, the Constituent Assembly, urged by Robespierre and the Jacobins, had carried a resolution which excluded its members from the coming Legislative Assembly. By this act it handed France over to the fanatics and the criminal classes. The 3,000 decrees of the National Assembly remained a dead letter.

Lecky V. 21 p. 496-534. — Taine: *The French Rev.*, v. 2. — Clerke: *The Principles of '89* D. R. '89. 3. — R. Parsons: *The Constitutional Clergy of France:* Studies IV. — *Die*

Revol. u. d. christliche Freiheit, St. 37. — Ludovic Sciout: *Hist. de la Const. Civile du Clergé.* — Edm. Burke: *Reflections on the Fr. Revol.* — Imbert de St. Amand: *Marie Antoinette and the End of the Old Régime. — The Flight to Varennes and other Hist. Essays;* Oscar Browning; A. B. Cochrane; also Q. R. '86. 3.— Henry Reeve: *Royal and Republican France. — Taine on Jacobinism:* Q. R.'85. 4. — *The Spirit of '89:* Lilly: *Hist. Questions.* — Mgr. Ricard: *L'Abbé Maury.* — M. Sept: *La Chute de l'ancienne France La Fédération* (1789-91).— K. O'Meara: *The Church of France and the Revol: A. C. Q. 8.*

§ 3.

THE FALL OF THE THRONE.

234. Declaration of Pillnitz, Aug., 1791. — Meanwhile Emperor Leopold II., desirous of aiding his sister, and Frederick William II. of Prussia, had, in a meeting at Pillnitz, August, 1791, signed a declaration expressing their readiness to intervene in French affairs, if other Powers would unite with them. But mutual rivalry and the struggles of expiring Poland engaged their attention elsewhere and the declaration remained a mere threat. A step in advance was taken in February, 1792, when the two Powers concluded an alliance.

235. Legislative Assembly, Oct., 1791-Sept., 1792. — The Legislative Assembly was of a far lower standard than the National Assembly. Out of its 745 deputies about 400 were unknown provincial lawyers, besides a great many writers without fame, and twenty constitutional priests; the majority of members were under 30 years, 60 members under 26 years of age. Nearly all were outgrowths of revolutionary Clubs. The Right, about 100 members, constitutional royalists, belonged to the Club of the Feuillants. Of the 400 members of the "Plain" or "Marsh" as it was contemptuously called (center), 160 belonged to the Feuillants. The rest were independents and favored a Federal Republic. Their most important group were the Girondists, anti-catholics, anti-christians, destructionists and levellers. The Left and the Mountain (so called from their high seats) were made up of 236 radicals, adherents of a "United and Indivisible Republic," men like Chabot and other leading Jacobins and Cordeliers. The radical Pétion was chosen Mayor of Paris.

236. Work of the Legislative Assembly. — Terrorized by the galleries, the Legislative Assembly sentenced to death and confiscation of property all Emigrants who should not return before the end of the year (1791), exiled the 50,000 non-juring priests, and ordered the erection of a camp around Paris to overawe the capital. These decrees were vetoed by the King. On April 20, 1792, the

Assembly declared war against Francis II., the successor of Leopold II., and against his Prussian ally.

Two grievances were alleged by the Assembly. The Emperor tolerated the gathering of French Emigrants on the frontiers of Germany and Belgium, and the German princes who had estates in Alsace, refused to part with the feudal rights abolished by the National Assembly. The first grievance had been removed by the Emperor, who dispersed the armed Emigrants; the second might have been settled by negotiation. The real object of the war was to establish the Republic at home, and to carry the principles of the Revolution to foreign countries. The fact that King and Queen had sought foreign intervention, gave rise to exaggerated rumors of court conspiracies, and the report was freely circulated that the King contemplated a return to the feudal burdens and the unjust taxation of the Ancient Régime.

237. Invasion of the Tuileries by the Mob, June 20, 1792. — France sent three armies into the field, the northern corps, 48,000 men, under Rochambeau, the middle corps, 52,000, under Lafayette, and the southern, 42,000 strong, under Luckner, the whole line forming a semi-circle from Dunkirk to Basle. The insubordination of the rank and file, and the ignominious flight of two divisions before the foe, one murdering its own general, increased the revolutionary excitement in Paris. The King dismissed the Girondist ministry (Roland, etc.) which had been forced on him after the declaration of Pillnitz, and which was pressing him to sign the vetoed decrees. Thereupon the Jacobins arranged an outbreak and organized battalions of pikemen. To give zest to the popular appetite for violence, the lie was published on June 15, that the Queen was at the head of an Austrian Committee in the Tuileries. On June 20, the mob, men, women, and children, under the leadership of Santerre the brewer, and Legendre the butcher, defiled through the Chamber of Deputies with shouts of "Down with the veto!" They next invaded the Tuileries bent upon forcing the King to sign the vetoed decrees and to recall the Girondist ministry. For four hours Louis XVI. and his family were besieged in his apartment by a dense crowd of ruffians and threatened with murder, whilst a mob of 15,000 persons swarmed over the palace and its grounds. But Louis for once remained firm, spoke calmly to the people and to please them donned the red bonnet. Some officers of the municipality and of the National Guards finally persuaded the crowd to leave the

palace. Lafayette incurred the wrath of the Jacobins by demanding the punishment of the ring leaders.

238. Tenth of August. — The concentration of 80,000 Austrian troops on the Rhine induced the Legislative Asssembly to pronounce the country in danger. Sixty thousand volunteers answered the call. Both the Duke of Brunswick, commander in chief of the allied forces, and the Girondists played unwittingly into the hands of the Jacobins: the Duke by issuing an imprudent and threatening manifesto, the Girondists by a series of decrees which removed the regular troops from Paris, deposed the better elements in the National Guard from command, and drew band after band of ferocious characters from Marseilles and Brest into Paris. The immediate demands of the Jacobins were the indictment of Lafayette and the dethronement of the King. The acquittal of Lafayette August 8, gave the signal for a new outbreak of all the radical forces gathered in Paris.

A band of Jacobin conspirators who called themselves Commissioners collected at the Hotel de Ville August 9, arrested the Municipal Council, murdered Mandat, the commander of the National Guard, and took the reins of the municipal government into their hands. Early on the morning of August 10, the first bands of rioters appeared before the Tuileries. There were 950 Swiss and more than 4,000 National Guards at the palace, but the latter were not reliable. The King and the royal family took refuge in the Legislative Assembly. The Swiss made no attack on the populace, they only refused to give up their arms to the rabble, until a chance shot put them on their mettle. Then with a dash they cleared the grounds. But upon an order sent by the King to cease firing they promptly obeyed. One Swiss detachment on passing through the gardens of the Tuileries, suffered itself to be cut down to a man, rather than disobey orders. The wounded on the ground, the surgeons who attended them and the palace domestics were all indiscriminately murdered. The other detachment marched to the Legislative Assembly and laid down their arms. They were part massacred, part imprisoned for a later slaughter. The streets of the city were reeking with murder. In the Legislative Assembly attended by 284 out of 745 deputies, the King was deprived of his functions and imprisoned with his family in the Temple. As the Assembly had no power to make constitutional changes, a National Convention was summoned to be elected by universal suffrage, and to draw up a new Constitution for the State. The Commune raised its membership to

288 members, among them the most fanatical adherents of the socialistic and atheistic Republic, such as Robespierre, Collot d'Herbois, Hébert, Chaumette, Billaud-Varennes. Danton became minister of justice.

Lafayette, declared traitor by the Assembly and abandoned by his troops, fled and fell into the hands of the Austrians, who kept him prisoner at Olmütz till 1796.

239. **The September Murders.** — To consolidate their power, the Jacobins resolved upon a massacre on a grand scale. Marat was the proposer and agitator, Danton the executive head of the scheme. His maxim was: "We can rule only by fear." As minister of justice he obtained from the Assembly the authorization to invade private homes, and thus filled the prisons of Paris with many hundreds of suspected royalists. He also sent out a circular calling upon the Departments to follow the example of Paris.

On September 2, the slaughter began and lasted six days and five nights without interruption. The victims selected by the Commissioners of the Commune were marched out of their prisons and slaughtered by the twenty or more murderers assigned to each of the eight prisons of Paris. The butchers received 6 francs a day besides their meals and wine as much as they wanted.

The most conservative estimate of the number thus murdered in Paris is about 1,400.

Among the victims were the Archbishop of Arles, two bishops, Princess Lamballe, 250 priests, a great number of nobles belonging to the best families of France, many former magistrates and officials, the surviving Swiss guards and some criminals who were of no service to the Jacobins. The September tragedy was repeated in Versailles, Lyons, Rheims, Meaux, Orleans, and other cities. The most infuriated members of the Commune were sent as Commissioners into the departments, to encourage the work of pillage and carnage.

Scenes of cannibalism accompanied this orgy of blood. The heart of Princess Lamballe was devoured by a wretch; her head was carried about on a pike, and the royal family in the Temple was compelled to gaze on it. The prison delivery was followed by an extensive spoliation of homes, by the sack of the Tuileries, and by assault and robbery in the streets openly committed by men decked in the tricolor. The spoils thus gathered in a few days by the Jacobin bands amounted to many millions of francs.

240. The War. — Meanwhile the allies under the Duke of Brunswick were advancing into France with extreme hesitation. They captured Longwy and Verdun, besieged Thionville and held one of the five roads leading to Paris. Dumouriez took a strong position at Menehould. At Valmy the allies retreated for the first time before the intrepid stand of the new French recruits under Kellermann. From all sides French reinforcements arrived. Multitudes sought relief on the battlefield from the horrors enacted at Paris and in the departments. The siege of Thionville was raised, Verdun and Longwy were retaken and the invading army saw itself compelled to recross the Rhine. Sept. 10 France declared war against the King of Sardinia who had identified himself with the Coalition. Before the end of the month the French conquered Savoy and Nice, and drove the Piedmontese beyond the Alps. General Custine conquered Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and Frankfort. The rapid conquest was facilitated by the co-operation of the numerous freemasons in the Rhenish cities. With still greater rapidity Dumouriez took the Belgian fortresses dismantled by the folly of Joseph II., defeated the Austrians at Jemappes, and before the end of the year conquered all the Austrian Netherlands save Luxemburg. Wherever the French came they confiscated ecclesiastical and communal property, plundered churches and monasteries, imposed crushing taxes and contributions on the rich, and flattered the poor by proclaiming war to the palaces and peace to the cottages.

241. The National Convention, Sept. 21, 1792–Oct. 1795. — The elections for the Convention were held amidst the excesses perpetrated by the Jacobins against the "aristocrats," now no longer the nobles, but proprietors, traders, bourgeois, wealthy farmers, and peaceable citizens. Abstentions were numerous. In the municipal elections at Paris only 7,000 out of 160,000 votes were cast. In all the primaries of France 6,300,000 out of 7,000,000 voters abstained. By such an election the Jacobins obtained control of the Convention and of nearly all elective offices. Of the 749 members of the Convention, 486 were new men. All the deputies were decided Republicans and disciples of Rousseau, many of them advocates of an atheistic Republic. The parties were the Right, 180 Girondists led by Vergniaud and Brissot, the Plain, 500 members who were sure to go with the rising faction, and the Mountain, all the members from Paris, Robespierre, the Duke of Orleans, who assumed the name of Philip Egalité, Danton, Collot, d'Herbois, etc., and terrorists from the departments.

At its opening session, September 21, the Convention unanimously voted the abolition of royalty and declared France a Republic. In December, the deposed King, henceforth called citizen Louis Capet, was summoned before the Convention which for the purpose of trying and condemning the King constituted itself into a bar of justice. The charges were that Louis Capet had conspired against the liberty of the nation and arrested the general welfare of the State. The trial was a cruel travesty of justice. The accusation consisted of inflammatory invective. The arguments of the defenders remained unanswered. A vote of guilty was urged and it went heavily against the King (685 votes). Then came the sentence. The Girondists though they had voted him guilty, yet shrank from the sentence of death. To shift their responsibility they moved an appeal to the people, but it was rejected by the Convention. Thereupon a majority of one (360 votes) including the vote of Philip Egalité, condemned the King to death. The other votes were cast for delay, imprisonment, or banishment. Upon a new motion for delay, the majority for the King's execution rose to 60.

242. Murder of Louis XVI., Jan. 21, 1793. — During his confinement, galled as it was by brutal treatment, Louis prepared himself for death like a Christian. He heard his sentence with dignity and resignation, forgave his enemies, received the sacraments from the Irish Father Edgeworth, a non-juring priest, took a heart-rending leave from his family and mounted the scaffold amid the sorrowful silence of the city bristling with the guns of the National Guard. Louis XVI. was guillotined on the Place de la Revolution.

243. The First Coalition. — The opening of the Scheldt, which the Peace of Westphalia had closed to protect Dutch commerce, the order sent to all French generals everywhere to introduce the revolutionary system of France, and the designs of the Convention to invade Holland, would have driven England sooner or later into war with France, though the younger Pitt, England's leading statesman, did his utmost to maintain a strict neutrality. The execution of the King and the decree to annex Belgium, whose plunder was to relieve the desperate state of finances in France,

brought matters to an issue. Pitt withdrew the English envoy from Paris. The Convention at once unanimously declared war against England and Holland. The Coalition against France soon comprised the Empire, Prussia, Sardinia, England, Holland, Spain, and Portugal. The Emigrants under Prince Condé proclaimed the Dauphin imprisoned in the Temple as Louis XVII.

244. **The War.** — In December Frankfort had been recaptured by the Prussians and Custine had been driven back to the Rhine. Whilst the Duke of Brunswick was operating against the latter, Dumouriez was defeated by the Austrians under the Duke of Coburg at Neerwinden (March 18, 1793). Dumouriez entered into negotiations with Coburg. He strongly condemned the anarchical violence of the Jacobins and the execution of the King whom he had in vain attempted to save, and longed to preserve the lives of the Queen and the Dauphin by a march upon Paris. But, abandoned by his troops, he went over to the Austrians accompanied by the Duke of Chartres, the son of Philip Egalité.

245. May 31st and June 2nd. — After the death of Louis XVI. nearly all the deputies came armed to the sessions. A struggle for life and death was waged between the Girondists and the Mountain, each party hurling charges of treason against the other. Under the triple pressure of the Mountain, the September murderers in the galleries, and the Jacobins of the street, the Convention established the *Revolutionary Tribunal* (March 9), outlawed the Emigrants whether they bore arms or not and their families living in France, put their property in the market, extorted a forced loan of a billion from the rich, and formed the Committee of Public Safety (April 6). Marat was the first deputy who was cited before the *Revolutionary Tribunal* charged with inciting insurrections. He was acquitted and triumphantly restored to his seat. In May the Convention arrested Hébert and other agitators to be tried by a Commission of Twelve. The Convention was cowed into submission by a street rising of the Jacobins (May 31), and dissolved the Commission, but refused to proscribe its members. Thereupon the Commune organized a rising of its adherents commanded by Henriot. The armed mob surrounded the Tuileries where the Convention sat, and compelled it to arrest thirty-one Girondists, including Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, and other leaders. June 2 the new ultra-democratic Constitution, wholly based on the Social Contract of Rousseau,

was passed with as much rapidity as levity. It contained a clause demanding the immediate dissolution of the Convention and the call for new primaries. But by a masquerade of gigantic size and phantastic arrangement, in which 8,000 delegates from the departments were artfully managed by Danton and Robespierre, the people were made to declare the present Convention permanent, purged as it was from all conservative elements, and Danton, in an impassioned speech, proclaimed a Reign of Terror against all the foes of the Paris Commune.

Lecky V. 21, pp. 535–595, 599–601; VI. 22, pp. 1–135. B. de Moleville, Private Memoirs: *Last Year of the Reign of Louis XVI.* — Clery: *Journal of Occurrences at the Temple during the Confinement of L. XVI.* — Lamartine: *History of the Girondists.* — *The September Massacres.* A. C Q. 8. — Moore: *Journal in France.* — M. H. Wallon: *Histoire du Tribunal Revolutionaire de Paris.* — Pierce L. Nolan: *Irishmen in the French Revolution:* D. R. '90. 2.— Concerning the external war, v. Sybel — Perry: *Hist. of the Fr. Rev.* — E. Baines: *Hist. of the Wars of the French Rev.* — Griffiths: *French Revolutionary Generals.* On Sorel's *Europe and the Fr. Rev.*: E. R. 87, 3.

§ 4.

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN THE DEPARTMENTS.

246. The Jacobin Machinery. — The chief bodies which drove France into a career of crime, terror, and suffering such as the world had never seen before, were: (1) The *Committee of Public Safety*. Its prominent managers were Danton, a real leader of men, clear-sighted and powerful in speech, but brutal, who murdered for power, though he was less sanguinary than his colleagues; the blood-thirsty Marat, who murdered for pleasure; and the vainglorious and hypocritical Robespierre who murdered for the gratification of jealousy and revenge. Other leaders were St. Just, Couthon, Collot, and Carnot,— the latter confined himself with eminent success to the management of the war. The Committee deliberated in secret, overawed the ministers, and took whatever measures were deemed requisite for the national defense. It had its representatives in the departments and in the army, chosen from the members of the Convention, the so-called "Deputies in mission." Marat's days, however, were numbered. On July 13th he was murdered in his bath by Charlotte Corday, a young woman of Normandy, who had come to Paris to rid the world of the monster. Two days after the deed she calmly mounted the scaffold. (2) *The Committee of General Security*, a sub-committee of the Committee of Public Safety. It was composed of twelve Mountaineers (Montagnards) charged with the detection of political crimes and with the arrest of the "suspects" and proscribed. (3) The *Revolutionary Tribunal*. Its 16 judges and 60 jurymen, the latter at 18 francs a day, were appointed by the Committee of Public Safety. Their

duties consisted in promptly condemning the victims brought in by the Committee of General Security without a hearing in batches of twenty, fifty, or more. (4) The *Commune of Paris*, in reality the greatest power in the State, acting through its committee of twenty at the Hotel de Ville under the guidance of the atheists Chaumette and Hébert whose maxim was: To be safe you must kill all. (5) The *21,500 Revolutionary Committees* in the *Departments*, chiefly composed of ruffians and criminals at an expense to the Republic of 591,000,000 francs a year or 100,000,000 more than the entire taxation of the Ancient Régime. Their duties consisted in imprisoning, despoiling and guillotining Frenchmen without trial. (6) The *Revolutionary Army*, organized September 5, 1793, 6,000 men with 1,200 cannoneers in Paris and proportionate numbers in the cities of France. The revolutionary army was, according to the decree of the Convention, intended "to guard those who are shut up, arrest suspects, demolish castles, pull down belfreys, ransack vestries for gold and silver objects, and to strike every anti-Jacobin with physical terror."

247. Foreign and Civil War. — In July Mainz was captured by the Prussians after a siege of three months, and the fortresses of Condé and Valenciennes fell into the hands of the allies; the defeated General Custine was sent to the guillotine. The English laid siege to Toulon, occupied it for a time, and drove back the republican troops at almost all points. At the same time civil war threatened the Republic. On learning the events of May 31 and June 2, all the towns in the West, the South, the East, the center of France, declared that the Convention was no longer free, and that its decrees had no force of law. The citizens of Marseilles, Lyons, Caen, Toulon, Bordeaux, took up arms, and tried, and in a few cases executed, the Jacobin murderers. The fugitive Girondists stirred up insurrections in the departments. The risings against the men that managed the new Republic became the chief cause of the executions en masse which characterized the Terror. Yet these protests and risings, being local, led to no united effort of resistance, and were easily overcome in detail by the "Deputies in mission." By July 9th forty-nine departments had sent in their submission to the Convention. Only the sturdy Catholics of La Vendee and a few western departments displayed energy. Twenty thousand royalists organized in Lozère. A great Vendéan army took Saumur, crossed the Loire, entered Angers and besieged Nantes. Carnot took energetic measures to establish the power of the Jacobins at home and abroad. A

levy of the whole male population was decreed, to besiege Lyons and Toulon, and to fight the Spaniards in the Pyrenees, the Piedmontese in the Alps, and the English, Austrians, and Prussians in the Netherlands and on the Rhine. Fourteen armies were soon placed in the field. Caen, Bordeaux, Marseilles, were conquered by the Republicans. Lyons was captured after a two months' siege. The Vendéans were defeated at Chollet (October) and again at Le Mans (December).

On the Rhine the fortunes of war varied. The Austrians and Prussians stormed the French lines at Weissenburg (October) and the Duke of Brunswick defeated the Republican General Hoche at Kaiserslautern (November). On the other hand, General Pichegru defeated in December the Austrians under Wurmser. The allies had to retreat across the Rhine, and Worms and Speyer were once more taken by the French. About the same time the Republicans rescued Toulon from the English.

248. **Punishment of the Risings.** — In Bordeaux, where not an arm was raised in self-defense, Tallien sent the Mayor and 881 others to the guillotine, imprisoned 1,500 citizens, and levied a fine of 9,000,000 francs on the wealthy. At Marseilles 12,000 persons were proscribed and their property sold. At Toulon people were slaughtered in heaps. Four hundred workingmen of the navy yard who marched out to receive Fréron, were put to death on the spot, for having worked during the English occupation. Fréron then summoned the populace to the Marsfield on penalty of death. There he told the local Jacobins to single out their enemies. The victims thus designated were ranged along a wall and shot. The operation was for some time repeated day after day. During three months the guillotine dispatched 1,800 more. Twelve thousand laborers were employed to pull down the buildings. A population of 28,000 was reduced to 6-7,000.—In Lyons thousands were murdered by the guillotine, or mowed down with grapeshot or drowned in the Rhone. A tax of 6,000,000 was imposed on the city, and the confiscation of private property continued for ten months. The Republic at a cost of 15,000,000 francs employed 14,000 working men to destroy the finest buildings of the city, valued at 3,400,000,000. The population was reduced from 130,000 to 80,000.

249. **La Vendee.** — When the Catholics of the Vendée and the neighboring provinces saw their King guillotined, their archbishop driven to the mountains, their priests hunted down, their churches plundered and desecrated, handed over to an apostate priesthood, and themselves compelled to travel for miles and miles to hear mass in the recesses of forests and caves, they flocked to the standards of their brave leaders, the nobles Charette and La Rochejaquelein, and the peasants Stofflet and Cathelineau, in defense of

their faith and the royal house of France. When the fortune of war turned against them, La Vendée became the scene of brutalities, the most horrible committed during the Revolution. Carrier at the head of the *Revolutionary Tribunal* of Nantes put to death 15,000 men, women and children during the last three months of 1793. Prisoners were shot down in general fusillades, 4–5,000 were drowned (noyades). They were tied together two by two and driven into the Loire, or placed in large crowds on rafts and lighters, and sunk. Penard made it his specialty to scour the rural districts for the purpose of killing women and children. Other parties went forth to pick up the Vendéans along the high roads, shooting them in batches of twenty-five. In 1794 after the disastrous battle and massacre at Le Mans, Turreau, sent by the Commune of Paris at the head of twelve "columns of hell," entered La Vendée from different points. His orders were to exterminate the inhabitants and confiscate their lands. Accordingly he killed all living things that came in his way, and burnt crops, mills and villages; 500 square leagues were devastated, 20 towns and 1,800 villages destroyed. Among the 90,000 slain were 15,000 women and 22,000 children. The remaining population fled to the woods, whence they carried on a desultory but destructive warfare against the republican hordes.

In the autumn of the same year the smouldering insurrection broke out anew and rapidly spread north of the Loire into Brittany, Maine, Anjou, and Normandy. The Chouans, as the insurrectionists north of the Loire were called, composed of fugitive Vendéans, returned Emigrants, and deserters from the regular army, fought under independent leaders and received everywhere the support of the peasants, who resented the suppression of their religion and priesthood. After the fall of Robespierre the Committee of Public Safety sent General Hoche into the affected departments. He allowed the churches to be reopened, left the clergy unharassed and concluded a number of armed truces with Charette and other Vendéan and Chouan leaders. Cessation of hostilities and recognition of the existing authorities on the one hand, freedom of worship and the command of the National Guard by the Vendéan and Chouan leaders on the other were the terms of agreement.

250. Revolutionary Taxation. — Famine was an everpresent cause of terror and violence. To obtain provisions for the army and food for the inhabitants of Paris and other cities, the Committee of Public Safety constructed a vast system of public and private robbery authorized by decrees of the Convention. The State established an income tax, an extraordinary revolutionary tax, maximum price for commodities and labor, and a system of forced requisitions. (1) The decrees on taxation distinguished in incomes between the essential and the surplus. The essential was fixed at

1,000 francs per head. According to the excess, a quarter, a third, a half, was levied as an income tax. When the income exceeded 9,000 francs, the whole excess was taken. (2) The revolutionary tax, imposed on the capital of the rich, ranged from 300 francs all the way up to 1,200,000 francs on a single person. Thus in Strasburg, v. g. 193 merchants and professional men were taxed in graded amounts from 6,000 to 300,000 livres each, in all 9,000,000 payable in twenty-four hours. (3) A third means of obtaining provisions and labor was the maximum price, established September, 1793, for a vast number of commodities and also for wages, payable in assignats. These assignats were printed by the billion. As early as July, 1793, 100 francs in assignats were worth 33 francs in coin. The grocers and shopkeepers had to display a list of all their provisions and goods, sell them at the maximum price, and take assignats at their face value as payment, i. e., they had to sell their goods at one-half or one-third of cost. But as the State needed coin to obtain war materials from foreign countries, those who had coin, had to deliver it against assignats at par, and those who had none, had to deliver their plate and jewels. The Catholic churches were simply ransacked for their sacred vessels which were melted into revolutionary coin. (4) By forced requisitions farmers had to bring their crops to public granaries to be paid in assignats at their face value. Tens of thousands of working men had to labor for the State at the maximum price in assignats. In all these cases the alternative was to pay, to deliver, to work, or to face the guillotine. Whilst this ruinous system increased the chronic state of famine, it enabled the government to raise the sums which the war swallowed up, amounting in the first six months of 1793 to 490,000,000 francs, in the second half of the year to 300,000,000 francs a month. The insolvent Commune of Paris alone borrowed 110,000,000 from the State to feed the starving population.

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§ 5.

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN PARIS.

251. Law of Suspects. — Whilst cities and provinces were devastated by the revolutionary despots, Paris became the scene of crimes equally horrible. The *Revolutionary Tribunal* with Fouquier-Tinville as public prosecutor reigned supreme. By the Law of Suspects, passed September 5, 1793, the tribunal obtained unlimited power over life and liberty. Ten classes of people could be tried *on suspicion* of unfriendliness to the Republic; the last class comprised persons whom the tribunals had declared innocent. This law created 600,000 suspects in France.

252. Execution of Marie Antoinette, Oct. 16. — Since the execution of her husband the Queen had been shut off from all communication with the outer world, separated from her son, and exposed to the brutal insults of her keepers. Amidst the indignity of her imprisonment and the diabolical malice of her trial — they attempted to destroy the mother by the testimony of her little innocent son — she was ever dignified and queenly, and above all imbued with Christian resignation. Seated in a common cart, her arms tied behind her, she was conveyed to the Place de la Revolution, and guillotined, October 16. The King's sister, the saintly Madame Elizabeth, who had shared the capitivity of the royal family, followed the Queen to the scaffold.

Louis XVII., a pious and intelligent child of eight years, was placed under the absolute power of Simon, "governor of the Temple," a foul-mouthed cobbler, who took fiendish delight in beating and torturing the delicately nurtured Prince, cruelly depriving him of sleep, forcing him to inebriety and degrading his body and mind to a complete wreck. Thus perished in the Temple, June, 1794, at the age of ten, the last direct heir of St. Louis. His sister, Marie Thérèse, the last prisoner in the Temple, was delivered to the Austrians in 1795, in exchange for some captured deputies of the Convention. The Emigrants henceforth acknowledged the Duke of Provence, the King's eldest brother, as Louis XVIII. Soon after the execution of the Queen, the royal tombs at St. Denys were desecrated, the bones of the kings of France thrown into a common ditch, and their skulls tossed about like balls in the Jacobin club.

253. Other Executions.— On October 3d, two proscription lists of the Mountain, dictated by Robespierre, had been read in the Convention with closed doors, no debate being allowed; 73 Girondists arraigned before the bar were doomed to imprisonment, 21 others to the guillotine. They were guillotined October 31st. Vergniaud, Guadet, Brissot, ex-Mayor Bailly, Barnave, Madame Roland, who in her writings had inspired and glorified the Girondists, Philip Egalité, the traitor of the royal house, all reaped the fruit of their own teachings and doings on the scaffold. The Girondists who had escaped to the departments, were hunted down and guillotined. Roland, Condorcet, and a number of others stabbed, drowned or shot themselves. Of the 180 Girondists who had led the Convention 140 were executed, imprisoned, or in hiding. The Mountain ruled without a rival.

254. The War against Religion. —No article of the Jacobin programme was carried out with more cruelty and perseverance than the war against religion, especially Catholicism. A very large majority of the Catholic clergy, including many converts from the Civil Constitution, rather than abandon their flocks, preferred the risk of being stripped of everything, of being exiled, imprisoned, transported to Cayenne, tortured, guillotined 24 hours after seizure, and made martyrs of like the primitive Christians; 18,000 priests emigrated or were transported before, 18,000 after, the September murders. The persecution now menaced also Constitutional priests, Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis. The atheistic Republic had no use for them. No baptism, confession, extreme unction, marriage rite, or Christian burial was tolerated by the Commune. Decrees of the Convention broke up the Christian family by suppressing the marital and parental authority of its head and the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children. To destroy Catholic civilization to the roots, the Convention replaced the Christian era by the revolutionary era of the year I., (beginning Sept. 22, 1792), the week of seven days by a week of ten days, the Sunday by the decade, and all the ecclesiastical by revolutionary festivals and anniversaries.

The months were called Vendémiaire (Vintage month), Brumaire (the foggy), Frimaire (the frosty), Nivose (the snowy), Pluviose (the rainy),

Ventose (the windy), Germinal (the sprouting), Floreal (the flowery), Prairial (the hay-making), Messidor (the harvesting), Thermidor (the heat-giving), Fructidor (the fruit-giving). Each month had thirty days; the five intercalary days were called sansculottes. Christmas day was dishonored by the name of dog's day (le chien).

Day after day during the last months of 1793, scenes of religious mockery disgraced the sittings of the Convention. In one of them Gobel, the constitutional Archbishop of Paris, threw off the insignia of his office, and publicly rejected Christianity. The Convention finally abolished the worship of God and the belief in the immortality of the soul, and set up the cult of reason in Paris and in the departments. The Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris was made the scene of an unspeakable desecration. Similar outrages were committed in the departments, where the Jacobins closed, confiscated, and desecrated the churches.

255. Internecine Strife. — This delirium of infidelity called forth, first, a religious, then a political reaction. Danton carried a decree excluding religious masquerades from the Convention. The terrorists split into three hostile factions. The Dantonists represented the more moderate section of the Mountain. The Hébertists represented the ultra-revolutionary and atheistic Commune. Robespierre, supported by Couthon, St. Just, Billaud-Varennes and Collot controlled the Committee of Public Safety. By intrigues worthy of his treacherous character, Robespierre used one party against the other and crushed them both. The first attack was directed against the Commune, by the Mountaineers who desired to make the Convention independent, by the Dantonists, who wished to stay the action of the guillotine, and by Robespierre who sought the extension of his own authority. An attempt headed by the Cordeliers to get up an insurrection against the Convention failed. March 15, 1794, the leading Hébertists were arrested and condemned without hearing. March the 24th, Hébert, Chaumette, Anacharsis Clootz, who had arranged the feast of reason, Gobel, and others, were guillotined. Some days later came the turn of the Dantonists. The heads of Danton, Desmoulins, Hérault de Séchelles and others fell April 5th.

Danton, forewarned, made no effort to save himself. When the blow fell, on March 29, he said: "On such a day I organized the Revolutionary Court. I ask pardon of God and man."

256. Increase of the Terror — Condition of Paris Prisons. — Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety were now undisputed masters of the guillotine. Robespierre abolished the worship of reason and bade the Convention to decree the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul. At the fantastic feast of the Supreme Being on the Marsfield, June 8, the man of blood acted as the high priest. By a decree of the Convention passed two days later the calling of witnesses and the hearing of evidence, generally ignored heretofore in state trials, were formally abolished. A simple list of names sufficed for executions *en masse*. The executions on the Place de la Revolution now ran up to fifty, sixty, and more a day. Outside of Paris every Revolutionary Committee had its guillotine. There were stationary, traveling, and elegant house guillotines; the latter for the execution of sick persons who could not be moved from their homes.

The Reign of Terror did not materially change the gaiety and usual tenor of Paris life. People continued their wonted pursuits of gain and pleasure. All the average Parisian cared for was his dinner, his paper, and his evening amusement. The clubs, theaters, cafés, and other public resorts were patronized by their usual customers. Under the system of general espionage and denunciation inaugurated by the Committee minor criminals such as thieves, pick-pockets, and the like, disappeared. No riots disturbed the streets, as men did not venture even to express their opinions much less to fight for them. Everybody strove to comply in dress, language, and manner with the craze of "equality." "Citizen" and "citizeness," "thou" and "thee," replaced the old and more polite forms of address. The turbulent market women, who had played an important part in the street riots of Paris and Versailles, were subdued into quiet by the Terrorist authorities. They were now sitting in the Place de la Revolution as "tricoteuses," or knitting women, watching the guillotine whilst they plied their needles. The guillotine itself became an object of popular worship or pleasantry. The women of the time wore tiny guillotines as earrings and clasps; children amused themselves with toy guillotines; at dinner parties human figures were guillotined from which wine or syrup flowed instead of blood. Hymns were sung to "The Guillotine," and many a joke cracked on the "national razor." A similar frivolity reigned in the overcrowded prisons, where scenes of heroic devotion were enacted in the midst of much love and merry making and orgies of revolting immorality.

The Reign of Terror raised the number of Emigrants to 200,000. The prisons were everywhere filled. The thirty-six regular prisons and the ninety-six temporary jails of Paris, constantly contained 7–9,000 prisoners;

the 1,200 regular and 40,000 privisional jails in the departments contained each more than 200 inmates. In Nantes, 3,000 prisoners died of typhoid in two months. The lists of the Committee of Public Safety, before the end of the Terror, show nearly 400,000 prisoners. For Robespierre every person who was not a sans-culotte (breechless, surname of the low born Republicans, to whose condition all had to accommodate themselves), was "a suspect." Generals who failed, or who were too successful, were accused of treason and guillotined. University regents, professors, heads of schools, scientists and educated men, were sent to the guillotine for their superior knowledge, though they were provided with certificates of civism. Expressions of grief or pity, looks of disapprobation, even silence, became state crimes. It was a crime to be rich. Purchasers of ecclesiastical and communal lands were guillotined by the scores, that their lands might be brought into the market a second time. "We coin money on the Place de la Revolution," is the cynical saying ascribed to Barère. Nor were the lowly spared. Numbers of farmers, mechanics, domestics, women, filled the prisons or were shot, drowned or guillotined, because they had harbored an innocent outlaw or a hunted priest or had secretly attended the mass of an unsworn priest. Out of 12,000 persons sentenced to death, whose professions have been ascertained, 7,540 were farmers, artisans, soldiers, sailors, and servants of both sexes. At Angers 800 were guillotined merely to clear the prison for new victims. In Anjou, apart from those who, being taken with arms in their hands, were shot or sabred down on the spot, 10,000 were murdered without trial. In eleven western departments including La Vendée, the dead of both sexes and all ages exceeded 400,000. Thus the lives of 1,200,000 Frenchmen were sacrificed to the revolutionary fury during the Reign of Terror.

257. The Fall of Robespierre, Thermidor 9. — The fear which everybody, even the members of the Committee, felt for their own lives under the bloody dictatorship of Maximilian Robespierre, encouraged his enemies, Tallien, Fréron, Fouché, Vadier, Collot, and Billaud-Varennes, to devise his fall. Dantonists, Hébertists, Mountaineers conspired with members of the two Committees. July 26, Robespierre hurled threats at his enemies in the Convention, but without naming any one. The following day, July 27, the 9th of Thermidor, he was greeted with shouts of "Down with the tyrant!" For hours he struggled in vain against his fate. He was arrested with his brother, Augustin Robespierre, Couthon and St. Just. The four were released by an insurrection of their adherents. Upon the Convention outlawing them, they were abandoned by the Sections, or districts of Paris, surprised in the Hotel de Ville, and taken to

the Committee of Public Safety. Robespierre, lying on a table, his jaw fractured by a pistol shot (in attempted suicide), was exposed to the taunts of his foes. Next morning the two Robespierres, Couthon and St. Just, with eighteen others, were guillotined without trial. Within two days eighty Terrorists were executed. The Commune was nearly extinct.

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§ 6.

THE REACTION — 1794–1795.

258. The Reaction. — A change of policy at once made itself felt in the Convention, where the Thermidorians held the balance of power among quarreling factions. Revolutionary authorities and laws fell into contempt. The Jacobin Club was closed (November 12) and the Committees shorn of their power. Thousands of prisoners were set free and officials were changed all over the country. Carrier, the tyrant of Nantes, and Fouquier Tinville were condemned for their crimes at the bar of the Convention, and executed. The 73 Girondists who had been imprisoned on June 2, 1793, and others who had survived, returned to their seats in the Convention.

259. Misery. — The result of the maximum price, of the boundless issue of assignats and of the forced requisitions in use during the Reign of Terror was widespread misery and famine. In Paris and all the larger cities the government had to distribute rations of bread, often amounting to only a few ounces a day. Long rows of people had to wait their turn from midnight till late in the day to obtain their scanty allowance, or, as the case might be, to leave empty-handed after ten hours' waiting. In many districts people had to dig up roots for their subsistence, or to live on worms, bran, grass, or other unhealthy food. Entire communes were without bread for two or

three months. In a place of 6,000 inhabitants, 1,200 received for a long time, each eight ounces and then three ounces of wheat every eight days. In their downward course the assignats had sunk in May, 1795, to seven per cent. Still later an assignat of 100 francs sank to five sous. A pound of bread, in 1796, cost fifty francs, a pound of meat sixty francs. Later a bag of flour rose to 13,000 francs in assignats. Over one million died of hunger and misery, and several millions of inhabitants were ruined by the revolutionary famine. And all this while the leading Terrorists amassed enormous fortunes by plunder and speculation. In the face of this misery the reconstructed Convention abolished the maximum price, but continued the use of the assignats.

260. The Third Constitution and the 13th Vendémiaire. — The remaining Terrorists of the Mountain used the misery of the people to excite bread riots and insurrections against the Convention on April 1st (12 Germinal) and on May 20th (1 Prairial), which, however, were suppressed by the reorganized National Guards and the young men of the better classes. The revolutionary quarters of Paris were disarmed; 10,000 Jacobins, among them 60 Mountaineers, were arrested. Collot d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, Barère and many others were transported, others condemned to death. Two of them killed themselves before sentence. Five stabbed themselves on the stairs of the tribunal; of these two who survived were carried still bleeding to the guillotine and executed with the rest. In the departments acts of violence were committed by returned Emigrants against imprisoned Terrorists in retaliation for their former crimes. This violent reaction received the name of White Terror. Still the reactionary members of the Convention, as they had been accomplices in the crimes of the Terrorists, earned only the contempt of the country. In the fear for their own lives they added to the new (3d) Constitution a clause according to which two-thirds of the actual members of the Convention had to be re-elected to the new Legislature, the Corps Legislatif. The clause met with general disapproval. In Paris the National Guards and the better class of the Sections rose against the decree. On the motion of Barras, a young general, Napoleon Bonaparte, who had won his first laurels at the siege of Toulon, was placed in command of the troops of the Convention. At the head of 9,000 regulars, Bonaparte raked with his cannon the Rue St. Honoré and the Quay Voltaire, and mowed down 600 men

of the Sections in the bloody victory of the 13th Vendémiaire, October 5, 1795.

261. The War. — Whilst the clash of opinions, interests, and ambitions was still driving France from one revolution to another, the army in a school of danger, discipline and subordination had become strong and successful beyond the frontiers. The Prussians after two other battles at Kaiserslautern were compelled to recross the Rhine. The Austro-Sardinians in the western Alps and the Spaniards in the Pyrenees had to retreat before the advancing Republicans. The Duke of Coburg, defeated at Fleurus by General Jourdan (June 26, 1794), resigned his command. The allies evacuated Belgium. Pichegru invaded Holland in the winter of 1794–95, and drove the hereditary Stadtholder to England. Holland, now transformed into the Batavian Republic, surrendered Dutch Flanders to France. The Coalition gradually broke up. Tuscany was the first Power to make peace. Prussia betrayed the integrity of the Empire to make terms with France in the Peace of Basle (April 5, 1795). Openly it left its territories on the left bank of the Rhine to France until peace should be made with the Empire, but secretly it absolutely ceded the left bank of the Rhine to France, to be indemnified by the secularization of ecclesiastical territory (the bishopric of Münster). The Princes of northern Germany withdrew their contingents from the army of the Empire, and received for this service the recognition by France of a line of demarkation from the Rhine to Silesia which secured neutrality to the northern States. The Empire was henceforth torn in twain. In July Spain, also at Basle, ceded Spanish San Domingo to France, whilst all other conquests were restored by the Republic. Of all the allies only England was successful throughout in her naval war, and conquered most of the remaining French possessions in East and West India.

In the west of France an English force and 5,000 Emigrants landed at Quiberon in Brittany, and joined the Chouans, but were defeated by 12,000 republicans under Hoche, and slain or made prisoners amid scenes of utter confusion and distress. Whilst the lives of the Chouans were spared, over a thousand Emigrants were shot by order of the Convention. In the Vendée too the war was terminated by the victorious arms of Hoche, who had been

reinforced after the peace with Spain. The heroic leaders of the Vendéans, Stofflet and Charette, were executed, the former in 1795, the latter in March, 1796.

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§ 7.

THE DIRECTORY — 1795–1799.

262. The New Constitution. — The Constitution of the year III., or 1795, broke up both the largest and the smallest municipalities. Only communes with a population of 5,000 inhabitants had their own municipality. Communes of over 100,000 inhabitants were divided into several municipalities; thus Paris into twelve. The Corps Legislatif had two houses. A Council of Five Hundred who introduced the laws, and a Council of 250 Ancients (forty years of age) who approved or rejected the laws. The executive power was intrusted to a Directory of five members elected by the Ancients from a list put up by the Five Hundred. The Corps Legislatif was to be renewed by a third of its number, the Directory by one member every year. By the special law of the 5th Fructidor (August 22), binding the electoral assemblies to return two-thirds of the Convention members, the revolutionists had a secure majority in both houses, and chose a Directory of five regicides: Barras, La-Révellière-Lepoux, Rewbel, Carnot, and Letourneur.

263. Wars of the Directory. — To force the Empire to a peace, the Directory sent Jourdan into Franconia, Moreau into Suabia and Bavaria, Napoleon Bonaparte into Italy with orders to join his colleagues in southern Germany after subduing Italy. To face England, the Directory concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Spain, where Minister Godoy, the peacemaker of Basle, was all deference and subserviency to the Republic. Jourdan's forces were so completely defeated and scattered by the Emperor's brother, Archduke Charles, at Amberg and Würzburg, that Jourdan laid down his command. Moreau was compelled by the Archduke to retreat through the Black Forest to the Upper Rhine. But the cam-

paign of Bonaparte in Italy was a series of brilliant victories. Starting from Nice and following the coast he defeated the Austrians at Millesimo, and the Piedmontese at Mondovi, and forced Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, to cede Savoy and Nice to France, and to admit French garrisons into the fortresses of Piedmont. Then pursuing the Austrians, Napoleon stormed the bridge over the Adda at Lodi, entered Milan, and subdued all Lombardy as far as Mantua. The Dukes of Modena and Parma were compelled to purchase a truce with enormous sacrifices of money and art treasures. The King of Naples was compelled to withdraw his troops from the Austrian army and his ships from the English fleet. Four strenuous attempts of the Austrians to save Mantua, their last stronghold, were frustrated by five victories of the conqueror (at Castiglione, Roveredo, Bassano, Arcole, and Rivoli). After a long siege (July, 1796 Feb. 1797) Mantua surrendered under honorable terms.

264. Pius VI. and Napoleon. — It was now the turn of Pius VI. to treat with Napoleon, who had crossed the Po, occupied Ferrara and Bologna, arrested the Cardinal Legates, and imposed an oppressive truce on the Pope. The French Republic honored Pius VI. with its special hatred, because he had condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, praised the non-juring priesthood, suspended the constitutional priests, received many fugitives, celebrated solemn obsequies for Louis XVI., protested against the occupation of Avignon, and, most of all, because he was the successor of St. Peter. The Directory demanded the revocation of the dogmatical and canonical decrees of Pius VI. regarding the Church in France. But the Pope refused to make the slightest concession in matters of faith and morals and, ready to die at his post, declined the asylum offered him by England and Naples. Napoleon was more foresighted than the Directory. He was looking forward to the favor of the French Catholics. Accordingly, whilst he forced Pius VI. to conclude the Treaty of Tolentino, by which the Pope had to cede Avignon already annexed to France, as well as Bologna and the Romagna, he waived the religious question.

Napoleon is said to have sent a secret message to Pius VI., reading: I am no Attila, and if I were, remember you are the successor of Leo I.

265. Italian Republics. — Napoleon now crossed the eastern Alps into Carinthia and Styria to fight Archduke Charles at home. But the patriotic rising of the people in Venice, the Tyrol and Bohemia, threatening to cut off his retreat to Italy induced him to conclude a preliminary peace at Leoben in Styria. Whilst negotiations for a definite peace were pending, French troops invited by the republicans of Venice, occupied the Republic and aided them in overthrowing the aristocratic and organizing a revolutionary government. The States of northern and central Italy were transformed into the Cisalpine and Genoa into the Ligurian Republics under French control, and administered after the pattern of the Directory.

266. The Coup d'Etat of Fructidor 18, 1797, at Paris. — The Jacobin power, cowed for a time by the White Terror, again raised its head in the Corps Legislatif. The regicide Directory appointed agents of its own stamp. The trials of the Terrorists were quashed. Appointive offices in the departments were again filled with Jacobins. The most odious laws of the Reign of Terror were still in force only locally mitigated by the personal character of the officials. On the other hand the elections by the people everywhere returned moderate and conservative men to the new third of the Corps Legislatif and to the elective offices in the departments. It was calculated, that by the year VI., the last Jacobins would have to depart. The moderates in the Corps Legislatif demanded regular trials, removal of Jacobins from office, suppression or reform of the penal laws against religion, nobles, and Emigrants. On the arrival of the second third of the moderates the leading Jacobins became alarmed at the prospect of losing their accumulated spoils, perhaps their heads. This fear led to the Coup d'Etat of September 4 (Fructidor 18). Again a small Terrorist minority defeated a wavering majority. The three directors Barras, Rewbel and Révellière overthrew their more moderate colleagues, Barthélemy and Carnot. Five thousand roughs and 8–10,000 troops under Agereau surrounded the Tuileries, arrested the constitutionalist members of both houses "by the Law of the Sabre." The Councils thus purged, canceled the election of their colleagues in forty-nine departments, passed decrees of transportation by fifteen votes against seven, all the

rest being motionless from terror, and through forced or voluntary resignation of about 300 members became a radical Rump. The Coup was in all respects equal to the overthrow of the Girondists, save that the soldiers were the actors instead of the populace.

267. The Second Terror. — Thus the anti-christian and despotic system of 1793 was again introduced under a dictatorship of three Directors. The irresponsible tribunals of former days were now managed by military divisions. Barthélemy, Pichegru and other prominent men were transported. Carnot escaped by flight. Transportations en masse took the place of the guillotine. The imprisonment on the marshes of Rochefort, the overcrowded ships and the deadly climate of Cayenne did the work just as effectually. Ninety per cent of the victims transported without trial, died on the voyage or in the colony. The process of extirpating the Catholic Church by the laws of 1793 and 94 was pursued with the old virulence. In Belgium alone 7,300 ecclesiastics were hunted down for deportation. Three-fourths of them died within a few months. Forty-five departments were declared to be in a state of disturbance. Former nobles, returned Emigrants, property holders with all their relatives, in all 200,000 persons, were excluded from the franchise, made personally responsible for all acts of violence, not only committed, but suspected in their neighborhood, banished from the cities, and burdened with a forced loan of 100,000,000 francs.

268. Peace of Campo Formio October 17, 1797. — After lengthy parleys France and Austria concluded the Peace of Campo Formio. Austria ceded Belgium to France, recognized the Cisalpine Republic, indemnified the Prince of Modena with Breisgau, agreed in a secret clause to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, and received in return the territories of Venice, Istria and Dalmatia. France retained the Ionian Islands which had belonged to Venice. The navigation of the Rhine was left open to France and Germany. Austria and the princes who suffered by the cession of German territories were to be indemnified by the secularization of ecclesiastical territory (archbishopric of Salzburg). The conclusion of a peace between France and the Empire was entrusted to the Congress of Rastadt. But the formation of the Second Coalition put an end to its labors, and the Congress terminated with the assassination of two French plenipotentiaries, by Austrian hussars. It is certain that the attack was not authorized by the Austrian government. It seems to have been privately planned by French emigré officers serving in the Austrian army to possess themselves of the dispatches.

269. The Roman and the Helvetian Republics, 1798. — After the Peace of Tolentino, Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, was sent to Rome as ambassador of the French Republic. His house became the resort of domestic and foreign revolutionists, who set on foot the usual agitation against the Papal government. In a street mob purposely incited, a French general lost his life. This event gave the Directory the long desired pretext to occupy Rome. General Berthier marched into the city, February 10, 1709, and five days later overthrew the pontifical government, and proclaimed, against the protest of the people, the Roman Republic. Its symbol was the statue of liberty with the tiara under her feet; the city of the Popes was desecrated with the abominations of the atheistic revolution.

Shortly after the French entered Switzerland under pretense of settling a local discussion, changed the Swiss Confederacy into the one Helvetian Republic, and annexed Geneva.

The fear lest the presence of the Pope might foster the disaffection of the Romans against the French, determined the Directory to remove the aged Pontiff to Valence in southern France. The order was carried out with studied brutality by Berthier's successor, General Massena, and the commissioners of the Directory. Pius VI. surrounded by the touching homage of the Catholic people, closed the days of his troubled life at Valence, August, 1799.

270. Spoils of War. — Like the Committee of Public Safety the Directory waged a war of conquest, pillage, and propagandism. Authentic lists of Jacobin exactions imposed on Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Italy, apart from private plundering, furnish the following figures up to 1798: Exactions in coin, 655 millions; removal of gold and silver objects and works of art, 305 millions; provisions, 361 millions; confiscation of church, government, and corporation property, 700 millions, or two billion livres in five years. The churches alone contributed 146 millions. The spoils of Rome and of the Vatican amounted to 43 millions, including even the pastoral ring which a commissary of the Directory wrested from the finger of Pius VI. The forced conscription of 1798 sent 800,000 Frenchmen to the field. The waste of lives in the field amounted to 900,000 in eight years.

271. Napoleon in Egypt, 1798-99. — The Peace of Campo Formio being concluded, Napoleon returned to Paris and received a most enthusiastic ovation from the people, whilst the Directory re-

garded his successes with jealous eyes. To remove the popular hero from Paris and France, the Directory gave him the chief command over an army ostensibly formed for an invasion of England, but really destined for Egypt. The subjugation of Egypt was intended as a preliminary step toward the conquest of the British possessions in India and the destruction of English commerce. Having sailed from Toulon with 35,000 men and a large number of scientists, Napoleon took Malta, landed in Egypt, stormed Alexandria, defeated the Mamelukes in the Battle of the Pyramids and captured Cairo. Meanwhile Admiral Nelson had annihilated the French fleet in the Battle of the Nile at Aboukir, and the Porte had declared war against France and mobilized the forces of Syria. To anticipate an attack Napoleon threw himself into Syria and gained several successes (storming of Jaffa; battle at Mount Tabor), but Acre, defended by the English, resisted his assaults. Pursued by the plague, Napoleon returned to Egypt, and quickly routed a Turkish army which had landed at Aboukir. Advised of the state of affairs in France, he appointed Generals Kléber and Desaix as his successors in Egypt, escaped the vigilance of the English fleet, and arrived unannounced and unexpected in France.

272. War of the Second Coalition, 1799-1801. — Paul I., Emperor of Russia, had succeeded his mother, Catherine II., 1796–1801. The Knights of Malta, just deprived of their island, chose him for Grand-Master. He succeeded in forming a new Coalition, consisting of Russia, Austria, England, Portugal, Turkey, and Naples, where King Ferdinand's wife, Caroline, a sister of Marie Antoinette, was the soul of the government. The war began in 1798, before the Coalition treaty was signed, by a Neapolitan invasion of the Roman Republic. It was repulsed by the French, who in their turn invaded Naples. Nelson conveyed the king to Palermo. The higher classes, infected with revolutionary ideas, admitted the French into Naples, while the common people still fought for days in the streets of the capital for their king and their religion. The French changed the kingdom of Naples into the Parthenopean Republic. In the north of Italy the Duke of Tuscany, the Emperor's brother, was driven from his domain. The King of Sardinia fled to Cagliari on the island of Sardinia. His fortresses on the mainland were occupied by French troops.

According to the plan of the Coalition, Austria was to fight in Germany, Austria and Russia in Italy, Russia and England in the Netherlands. The attack on the Netherlands failed. Although Arch-

duke Charles, in the German campaign, drove Jourdan and Bernadotte across the Rhine, the allies were unable to dislodge the French from Switzerland and trans-Rhenish Germany owing to Massena's victory over Korsakow at Zurich, and to the divided councils of the allied leaders. But the campaign in Italy was a brilliant success. The Austrians under Kray and Melas, and the Russians under Suwarow, defeated in a series of victories the French under Scherer and Moreau in northern Italy. Macdonald, who hastened from Naples to assist the vanquished armies of France, was beaten on the Trebbia. General Joubert, whom the Directory sent with a new army to Italy, lost life and victory in the bloody battle of Novi. Suwarow now crossed the St. Gothard to join Korsakow in Switzerland, but instead of his colleague he found the victorious Massena and had to fight his way out of the mountains under great hardships and losses. Dissatisfied with the allies, Paul I. recalled his generals to Russia (1800). Meanwhile the Austrians completed the expulsion of the French from Italy. The fortresses, badly provisioned by the rapacious commissaries of the Directory, fell rapidly. The result of the campaign was the overthrow of the Cisalpine, Parthenopean, and Roman Republics. A Russo-Turkish fleet had wrested the Ionian islands from French control in May, 1799.

At the death of Pius VI. the enemies of the Church boasted that they had buried the last Pope. But the reconquest of Italy by the allies enabled sixty-five Cardinals to go into Conclave at Venice, where they elected Cardinal Chiaramonti as Pius VII., May 4, 1800.

273. Coup d'Etat of Brumaire 18 and 19. — The loss of Italy and a new revolution in Paris were the causes of Napoleon's sudden return. The reverses of the war had created a profound excitement in Paris. The Directory was loudly charged with criminal mismanagement by the party of order. On the other hand the remaining Jacobins prepared for a revival of the Terror. But by the coup d'etat of June 18th, the Directory of Three was replaced by a Directory of Five, and the Terrorist Rewbel had to make room for the more moderate Sieyès. In the general conviction that the government by the Directory was no longer tenable, Napoleon's journey from his landing place, Fréjus, to Paris, became a triumphal procession. In the Directory, Barras had secretly come to an understanding with Louis XVIII. Sieyès and Roger-Duclos with the same secrecy surrendered to Napoleon.

On November 9th, 1799 (Brumaire 18, of the year VIII.) the Council of Ancients transferred the sessions of the Corps Legislatif to

St. Cloud, and appointed Napoleon commander of the troops in Paris. Sieyès and Roger-Duclos overthrew the Directory; the two resigned according to a previous agreement; Barras was compelled to sign his resignation in his bath; the other two were arrested. On November 10, Napoleon's grenadiers entered the chamber of the Five Hundred with fixed bayonets and drums beating, whilst the deputies precipitately scrambled out of the windows. The Council of Ancients approved the measure, named Napoleon, Sieyès and Roger-Duclos provisional Consuls and adopted a new Constitution inspired by Napoleon and drawn up by Sieyès. December 15, 1799, the Fourth Constitution was proclaimed. France was now a military monarchy under the guise of a Republic.

Under the new Constitution Napoleon Bonaparte was inaugurated as First Consul for ten years with practically supreme power (December 24). The other two Consuls, Cambacérès and Le Brun had only consultative votes. A Senate of 80 members with good pay and little work were elected for life. The people voted for Notables of the Communes. These elected a tenth of their number as Notables of the Departments, these again a tenth as Notables of France. From this last list the Senate appointed the members of the Legislative Department, the higher officials and the judges. The Legislative Department had two branches, a Tribunate of 100, and a Legislative Chamber of 300 members. The Tribunate discussed the proposals of the government *without voting*. The Legislative Chamber accepted or rejected these proposals *without debate*. The executive power was in the hands of the First Consul aided by a Council of State. The establishment of Prefectures or administrations of departments and of Sub-prefectures or administrations of arondissements created the centralization of power which still prevails in France.

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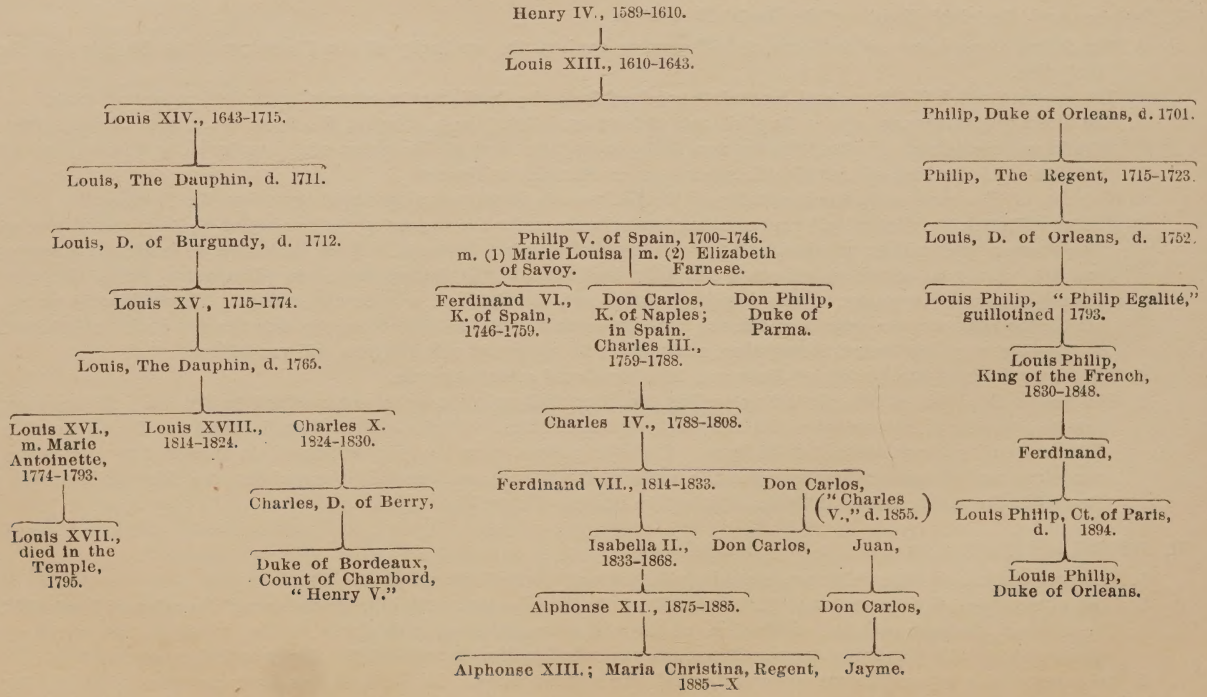
THE HOUSE OF BOURBON IN FRANCE, SPAIN, NAPLES, AND PARMA.


Henry IV., 1589–1610.
Louis XIII., 1610–1643.
Louis XIV., 1643–1715.
Philip, Duke of Orleans, d. 1701.
Louis, The Dauphin, d. 1711.
Philip, The Regent, 1715–1723.
Louis, D. of Burgundy, d. 1712.
Philip V. of Spain, 1700–1746.
m. (1) Marie Louisa of Savoy.
m. (2) Elizabeth Farnese.
Louis, D. of Orleans, d. 1752.
Louis XV., 1715–1774.
Ferdinand VI., K. of Spain, 1746–1759.
Don Carlos, K. of Naples; in Spain. Charles III., 1759–1788.
Don Philip, Duke of Parma.
Louis Philip, "Philip Egalité," guillotined 1793.
Louis, The Dauphin, d. 1765.
Louis Philip, King of the French, 1830–1848.
Louis XVI., m. Marie Antoinette, 1774–1793.
Louis XVIII., 1814–1824.
Charles X. 1824–1830.
Charles IV., 1788–1808.
Ferdinand,
Louis XVII., died in the Temple, 1795.
Charles, D. of Berry,
Ferdinand VII., 1814–1833.
Don Carlos, ("Charles V.," d. 1855.)
Louis Philip, Ct. of Paris, d. 1894.
Duke of Bordeaux, Count of Chambord, "Henry V."
Isabella II., 1833–1868.
Don Carlos,
Juan,
Louis Philip, Duke of Orleans.
Alphonse XII., 1875–1885.
Don Carlos,
Alphonse XIII.; Maria Christina, Regent, 1885–X
Jayme.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

I. *Religious and Doctrinal Causes of the Social Revolution.*

1. The bitter opposition of *Gallicans* and *Jansenists* against the authority of the Church and the decisions of the Holy See.
2. The support which Gallicans and Jansenists received from the Parliaments, especially the Parliament of Paris.
3. The literary propaganda of the English rationalists or deists (*Locke, Tyndal, Woolston*, etc.), and of other free-thinkers or atheists (*Hobbes, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke*, the *Earl of Rochester*, etc.), against Christianity and all religion. This school of infidelity found numerous disciples in France.
4. The rise of *Freemasonry* in the beginning of the Eighteenth Century and its rapid spread on the Continent.
5. The new French "philosophy," representing two schools under the respective leadership of *Voltaire* and *Rousseau*. The former, rationalists, atheists, and materialists (*D'Alembert, Diderot, Holbach, Helvetius, de la Mettrie-Encyclopedists*), chiefly attacked religion and religious institutions; the latter, socialists (*Rousseau's Social Contract*) directly assailed every form of existing government and the right of private ownership. These schools undermined the faith and the morals of French society, especially in the higher classes, exercised a decisive influence on the course of the French Revolution, and gave it its character of irreligion and vandalism.
6. The suppression of the *Society of Jesus* and its educational establishments.
7. The destructive ideas of the period preceding the French Revolution were not confined to France. In Germany, Austria, and Italy, *Febronianism* did the work of Gallicanism. *Frederic II.* in Prussia *Gustavus III.* in Sweden, *Struensee* in Denmark, were freethinkers. Catholic courts, more or less influenced by freethinking statesmen, conspired against and encroached upon the rights of the Church, as *Joseph II.* (*Josephinism*) and *Kaunitz* in Austria, *Pombal* in Portugal, *Aranda* in Spain, *Choiseul* in France, *Tanucci* in Naples, etc.

II. *Political and Social Causes of the French Revolution.*

1. The financial exhaustion of France caused by the wars of Louis XIV. and Louis XV.
2. Loss of royal prestige on account of the scandals at the French court during the Regency and the reign of Louis XV.
3. The unequal division and bad cultivation of the soil, two-thirds of which was in the hands of the privileged classes, the nobility and the clergy. Hence the periodic famines throughout the Eighteenth Century.
4. Arbitrary and irresponsible government by ministers and favorites. No States General were summoned since 1614.

5. Judicial and administrative abuses. (*Lettres de cachet; Beds of justice;* sales of commissions and offices in every branch of the administration, chiefly to members of the privileged classes.)
6. Feudal burdens and the unequal apportionment of taxation. Whilst the privileged classes were all but exempted, the weight of taxation pressed on the peasants and the common people. (Excise duties on necessaries; the *octroi;* the hated *gabelle* or salt tax; the *taille* or personal property tax; internal custom houses.)
7. The immediate cause of the Revolution was the immense public debt and the growing deficit, partly inherited by Louis XVI., partly increased by the cost of the American war (*not* by the alleged extravagance of *Marie Antoinette*). The successive attempts at financial reform made by *Turgot, Necker, Calonne,* brought no relief.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

Sovereign Pontiffs.	*Empire.*	*Russia.*	*Prussia.*	*Spain.*
Pius VI., 1775–1799.	Leopold II., 1790–1792.	Catherine II., 1762–1796.	Frederic William II., 1786–1797.	Charles IV., 1788–1808.
Pius VII., 1800–1823	Francis II., 1792–1806; as hereditary Emperor of Austria, 1806–1835.	Paul I., 1796–1801.	Frederic William III., 1797-1840.	(Joseph Bonaparte, 1808–1813.)
England.		Alexander I., 1801–1825.		Ferdinand VII., (1808) 1813–1830.
George III., 1760–1820.				

Assemblies and Constitutions.	*Parties and Clubs.*	*Revolutionary Leaders.*	*Revolutionary Days.*
			1789.
Assembly of the Notables, 1787.			*July 14.* Storming of the Bastille; street murders (De Launay, Foulon, Berthier); beginning of mob rule.
The States General, 1789.	Parties to the National Assembly.		

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION — *Continued.*

CONSTITUENT OR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, June 17, 1798 — Sept. 30, 1791. 1,200 members. Higher middle classes dominant.	*The Right*, royalists and aristocrats. *The Right Center*, advocates of the English system. *The Center and Left*, Constitutionalists. The *Extreme Left*, Republicans.	Cazalés, Abbé Maury; Espremenil, etc. Mounier, Malouet, Lally Tolendal. Mirabeau, Abbé Sieyès, Barnave, etc. Robespierre, Pétion, etc.	*Oct. 4-5.* The mob marching to Versailles; King and Assembly transferred to Paris.
FIRST CONSTITUTION, 1798. Democratic monarchy; the King powerless; one Chamber; historical provinces, Parliaments, Nobility, Courts, etc., abolished; Civil Constitution of the Clergy; Church property made national property; all officials in Church and State elective.		(Bailly, Mayor of Paris; Lafayette, Commander of the National Guard).	1790. *July 14.* National Federation in Paris; Louis XVI. accepts the Constitution. *June 20.* Flight to Varennes. *July 17.* "Massacre" of the Champ de Mars.
	Clubs. Democratic Republicans. { *Cordeliers.* *Jacobins.* Moderate Monarchists: } *Feuillants.*	Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Marat, Hébert. Robespierre, etc. { Lafayette, Bailly.	
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY Oct. 1, 1791 — Sept. 21, 1792; 745 *new* representatives. The Left of the Constituent Assembly became the Right of the Legislative Assembly. The	The *Right*, Constitutional Monarchists, the Feuillants. *The Plain*, moderate Republicans. **THE GIRONDISTS.**	Roland, Dumouriez, Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet.	1792. *June 26.* Invasion of the Tuileries; the Red Bonnet. *August 10.* Storm of the Tuileries; massacre of the Swiss; the King in the Legislative Assembly.

lower classes dominant. Decrees of death, spoliation, and deportation against Emigrants and clergy.	The *Mountain*, advocates of the socialistic and atheistic Republic.	Chabot and other leading Cordeliers and Jacobins.	
Aug. 13, 1792. The Jacobins control the Assembly and summon a National Convention. Reorganization of the *Commune of Paris*; 288 extreme Republicans.		Robespierre, Collot d'Herbois, Chaumette, Billaud-Varennes, Danton, (minister of justice).	*Aug. 13.* The King suspended; the royal family imprisoned in the Temple.
THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, Sept. 21, 1792 — Oct. 25, 1795; 749 Republicans. Second Constitution, ultra-democratic, based on Rousseau's Social Contract, remained a dead letter.	The *Right*, 180 Girondists.	Vergniaud and Brissot leaders.	**SEPT. 2–7.** The terrible September massacres of royalist and constitutionalist prisoners; massacres spreading to the Departments.
June, 1793. Death-struggle between the *Mountain* and the *Girondists*.	The *Plain* (the *Marsh*), 500 time-servers.		**SEPT. 21.** The Monarchy abolished; France a Republic.
Aug. 10. **SECOND CONSTITUTION** hurriedly adopted.	**THE MOUNTAIN,** Terrorists.	Robespierre, the Duke of Orleans (Philip Egalité), Danton, Collot d'Herbois.	**SEPT. 22.** First day of the year One of the French Republic.
THE REIGN OF TERROR, 1793–94. Max. Robespierre at the head of the			1793.
			Jan. 21. Execution of Louis XVI.
			May 31. Street rising of the Jacobins against the Girondists.
			JUNE 2. The Convention forced by the armed mob

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION — *Continued.*

State machinery of the Reign of Terror.			to arrest thirty-one Girondists. Fall of the Gironde.
1. The *Convention*, declared permanent.	The Mountain in control.		*July 13.* Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday.
2. The *Revolutionary Tribunal* (March 9).	A court sentencing Girondists, Constitutionalists, and "suspects," first with, afterwards without legal forms.	Fouquier-Tinville, public prosecutor.	*Sept. 17.* Maximum price; Law of Suspects.
3. The **COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY** (April 6).	12 Members charged with the defense of the Republic at home and abroad and wielding dictatorial powers.	Robespierre, Danton, St. Just, Couthon, Collot d'Herbois, Carnot, the able and energetic minister of war, "organizer of victories."	*Oct. 16.* Execution of Queen Marie Antoinette.
4. *Committee of General Security*, subcommittee of the former.	Charged with the arrest of suspects.		*Oct. 31.* Execution of 21 Girondists followed by the execution of Bailly, Philip Egalité, Madame Roland, etc.
5. **THE COMMUNE OF PARIS,** again reorganized.	A committee of 20 at the Hotel de Ville, the greatest power in the State.	The atheists Chaumette and Hébert.	*Nov. 10.* Festival of reason in Notre Dame Cathedral arranged by Hébert, Chaumette, Anacharsis Clootz, etc.
6. The *Revolutionary Committees* of the Departments.	21,500 Committees throughout France controlled by Terrorist commissaries from Paris.	Tallien at Bordeaux; Fréron at Toulon; Collot, Fouchet and others at Lyons; Carrier at Nantes, etc.	Abolition of the old army.
7. The *Revolutionary* (home) *Army*.			
Split of the Terrorists into three parties, 1794.	1. *Dantonists*, moderate section of the Mountain.	Danton, Desmoulins, etc.	

The Committee of Public Safety in undisputed control. Increase of the Terror.

2. *Hébertists*, representatives of the Commune.

3. *Party of Robespierre*, representing the Committee of Public Safety.

Hébert, Chaumette, Clootz, Gobel Constitutional Archbishop of Paris.

Robespierre, St. Just, Billaud-Varennes, Collot, etc.

1794.

March 15. Arrest of the *Hébertists.*

March 24. Execution of the *Hébertists.*

March 29. Arrest of the *Dantonists.*

April 6. Execution of the *Dantonists.*

June 8. Feast of the Supreme Being.

July 26. Robespierre threatens his enemies in the Convention.

Conspiracy of all parties against Robespierre.

Leaders of the Conspiracy: Tallien, Fréron, Fouché, Collot, Billaud-Varennes.

FALL OF ROBESPIERRE. The National Convention controlled by the Moderates, July, 1794–95.

Parties: Thermidorians; surviving Girondists; Terrorists abiding their time.

9TH THERMIDOR, July 27, arrest of the *Robespierres, Couthon, and St. Just.*

July 28. Execution of Robespierre and 21 others, followed by the execution of 80 Terrorists.

THIRD CONSTITUTION, the Const. of the Year III. A Directory of Five intrusted with executive power. The Corps Legislatif in two Chambers: the Council of Ancients,

Revolutionary Days after the Terror, 1795. *12 Germinal* (*April 1*) Riots. Transportation of Terrorists. The White Terror.

1 Prairial (May 20). Suppression of a fierce insurrection against the Convention. The Mountain is exterminated.

13 VENDÉMIAIRE (Oct. 5). "Day of the Sections:" a rising of the Sections of Paris against the clause added to the Const., which decreed the re-election of two-thirds of the members of the Convention, was battered down by Bonaparte's cannonade.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION — *Continued.*

250 members, the Council of the Five Hundred.

18 Fructidor (Sept. 4) 1897. Coup d'etat at Paris. Victory of the Jacobin minority over the moderate majority. Directory reduced to three regicides: *Barras*, *La Révellière*, and *Rewbel*. "The Law of the Sabre." Second reign of terror.

3 Prairial (June 18), 1799. The Directory reorganized under Sieyès in the interest of *Napoleon Bonaparte*.

THE DIRECTORY, Oct. 26, 1795—Nov. 9, 1799. First Directors: Barras, La Révellière-Lepoux, Rewbel, Carnot, Letourneur.

FOURTH CONSTITUTION, the Const. of Year VIII. Three Consuls; Senate of 80 life members; Corps Legislatif: Tribunate of 100, Legislative Chamber of 300.

18 BRUMAIRE. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE'S coup d'etat. Overthrow of the Directory.

THE CONSULATE, Dec. 25, 1799—May 20, 1804, Napoleon Bonaparte First Consul, with practically absolute power. *Cambacérès* and *Lebrun*, Second and Third Consuls.

CHAPTER II.

THE ERA OF NAPOLEON I. — 1800–1815.

§ 1.

THE CONSULATE AND THE WAR OF THE SECOND COALITION.

274. Preparations for the Campaign. — Napoleon had securely established his power at home as First Consul. He appointed as ministers the ex-Bishop Talleyrand for foreign affairs, and Carnot for war; Fouché remained at the head of the police. Napoleon now turned his attention to foreign affairs. He made overtures of peace, by personal letters, to George III. and Francis II. The Powers rejected them, but by doing so they played into the hands of Napoleon; for in the eyes of the French people he gained credit for his moderation, and threw the responsibilities of a war which he secretly coveted, upon the allies. In view of the approaching campaign he secured the peaceful submission of La Vendée by a general amnesty, full liberty of Catholic worship, and public funeral honors awarded to Pius VI. The remnants of the Chouan insurrection in Normandy and Brittany were crushed by force. Russia was detached from the Coalition. Paul I. thought himself badly treated by Austria and quarreled with England about the possession of Malta. On the other hand he greatly admired Napoleon's exploits, and answered his flatteries by withdrawing from the alliance. He did more. The neutral Powers were angered by England's forcible search of neutral vessels in violation of the Armed Neutrality of 1780. At the instance of Paul I. the League of Armed Neutrality against England was renewed before the end of the year by Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia. The United States also signed its articles.

275. Campaign in Italy, Marengo, 1800. — Melas, the Austrian commander in Italy, had defeated Massena at Voltri, and taken Nice. Massena was shut up in Genoa, besieged by the Austrians and blockaded by the English. So stubborn was his defense, that only after 15,000 persons had perished by famine, did Massena capitulate under the most honorable terms. Melas meanwhile expected Napoleon to come upon him by the passes of Mont Cenis. But Napoleon sent only smaller detachments through those passes, whilst he himself led the main army across the Great St. Bernard

into the plains of Lombardy, and occupied Milan and other cities. By this daring march he took the Austrians in the rear. Though caught between two fires, Melas resolved to fight. On the plain of Marengo, outside the gates of Alessandria, Melas had already won the field and left the command to a subordinate general when Napoleon, unexpectedly reinforced by Desaix, rushed upon the unwary Austrians and turned defeat into victory. Crushed by the disaster, the octogenarian Melas consented, in the Truce of Alessandria, to abandon the greater part of northern Italy and to withdraw behind the Mincio. Thus in one battle the French regained nearly all they lost in 1799. Marengo gave to Napoleon an unrivaled preponderance in Europe and undisputed sway in France.

Desaix had shortly before arrived from Egypt, where Kléber had suppressed a revolt, won the battle of Hierapolis with 12,000 Frenchmen against 80,000 Turks, and conquered Egypt a second time. On the same day that Desaix fell at Marengo, Kléber was assassinated by a fanatical Moslem.

276. The Campaign in Germany, 1800 — Hohenlinden. — Meanwhile Moreau had carried on a successful campaign in Upper Germany against the Austrians under Kray, and the troops of German princes in the pay of England. After conquering Suabia and Bavaria, he reached Munich in July. His campaign was interrupted by the Truce of Alessandria. The peace negotiations that ensued proved unsuccessful, because Austria refused to conclude without England, and England refused to extend the truce to the sea. Hostilities were resumed, and Moreau won in December the decisive victory of Hohenlinden over Archduke John, the Emperor's brother, and advanced within twelve miles of Vienna. Francis II., overtaken by these disasters, was compelled to conclude the separate peace of Lunéville on the basis of the Treaty of Campo Formio.

277. Peace of Lunéville, February 9, 1801. — The Emperor recognized the Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian Republics. The Rhine was established as the boundary between France and Germany, and the Adige as the Austrian boundary in Italy. The Emperor yielded Tuscany, which Napoleon transferred as kingdom of Etruria to the hereditary prince of Parma, the husband of the Infanta of Spain, in reward for Spain's good offices

during the war. Spain in return ceded Louisiana to France. Tuscany and Modena, the German princes who were losers by the treaty, and the Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic were to be indemnified by German territories.

278. **Dismemberment of the Empire.** — The special proposals for indemnifications were drawn up by a Deputation of Delegates of the Empire. The actual work of its dismemberment was done by Napoleon, Alexander of Russia, and the king of Prussia. The shameful negotiations lasted more than two years, during which the ambassadors of German princes and princelings haunted the antechamber of the First Consul and bribed French ambassadors and secretaries to obtain additional slices of land. It was chiefly ecclesiastical territory and free cities that were sacrificed to the greed of both Catholic and Protestant princes. The Catholic estates were robbed of 1,295 square miles and over 2,300,000 inhabitants. Of forty-eight free imperial cities only six were spared. As a rule the indemnified princes gained more than they had lost in the two Coalition wars. These transactions practically put an end to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

279. Peace of Florence, 1801. — Soon after the Peace of Lunéville, Napoleon, in deference to the wishes of Paul I., concluded the Peace of Florence with the King of Naples. The independence of Naples was acknowledged, but the King had to close his ports to English ships, to surrender his Tuscan coast line and islands to the kingdom of Etruria, and to maintain a division of 15,000 French in the gulf of Tarento.

280. **The Peace of Amiens, 1802.** — In March, 1801, Paul I. was assassinated in a palace revolution, and his son Alexander I. accepted the crown from the hands of the murderers. In the same month an English expedition conquered Egypt, whilst Nelson by a naval swoop upon Copenhagen forced Denmark to sign a truce. Alexander made up with England. The League of Neutrals collapsed. These events disposed Napoleon to peace. On the other hand the military and diplomatic successes of Marengo, Hohenlinden, and Lunéville, the occupation by French and Spanish troops of Portugal, England's last continental ally, and Napoleon's vast armaments for an invasion of Britain, inclined the English cabinet to come to terms with her formidable neighbor. The result of long negotiations, during which Pitt withdrew from the cabinet, was the Peace of Amiens.

England restored to the French Republic and her allies all the colonies conquered during the war except the Spanish island of Trinidad and the Batavian Island of Ceylon. Egypt was restored to

Turkey, Malta to the Order of St. John. The integrity of Portugal was acknowledged.

Books covering the whole Period, see § 12.—Lanfrey: *History of Napoleon I.* v. 1. Lockhart: *Life of Nap. I.* — C. Botta: *Italy during the Consulate and the Empire of Napol.* — C. Joyneville: *Life and Times of Alexander I.* — Gleig: *Sir A. Abercromby* (Em. Brit. Milit. Commanders). — Brück: *Geschichte der Kathol Kirche in Deutschl. im 19ten Jahrh.* — *Pitt's War Policy* Q. R., '92, 3. Taine: *The Modern Régime.*

§ 2.

THE FIRST EMPIRE.

281. Napoleon and Pius VII. — The cessation of hostilities agreed upon at Alessandria enabled Pius VII., just elected at Venice, to repair to Rome. Against all expectations Napoleon acknowledged the independence of the Papal States, shorn, however, of Ferrara, Bologna, and the Romagna. The year 1801 witnessed the opening of the churches and the restoration of the Catholic worship in France. Knowing full well the impossibility of re-establishing civil order in France without the Catholic religion, and above all anxious to reconcile the clergy to the new order of things and to break the last bond by which the ancient dynasty was still connected with the country, Napoleon opened negotiations with the Holy See for the restoration of the Church. Cardinal Consalvi was the Papal negotiator. The agreement, secured in 1801 only by extensive concessions on the part of the Pope, was embodied in the famous Concordat.

282. **The Concordat.**— The free and public worship of the Catholic religion was guaranteed, subject, however, to such police regulations, "as public safety might demand in the judgment of the government." (Art. 1.) The 135 bishoprics of France were reduced to sixty. (Art. 2.) The Pope undertook to induce the surviving bishops to resign their sees. (Art. 3.) The First Consul exercises the right to nominate the bishops; the Pope to give them the canonical institution. The parish priests were to be appointed by the bishops with the approbation of the government; the holders of confiscated church property were to remain in undisturbed possession; in compensation the government pledged itself to make suitable provision for the maintenance of the clergy. The Concordat met with considerable opposition. Of the surviving bishops, forty-five immediately complied with the Papal request. Others remonstrated against their dispossession. In some places resistance led to temporary schisms. The fifty-nine constitutional bishops were ordered by the First Consul to give up their sees. A fierce

opposition arose also in the republican party chiefly in the army. Napoleon himself, in defiance of all treaty rights, annulled important provisions by publishing together with the Concordat seventy-seven organic articles which revived Gallicanism, and forged new fetters for the Church. Rome's often repeated protests were ignored.

283. **The March to the Throne.** — The First Consulship could never satisfy Napoleon's ambition. All his measures during the Consulate were taken with a view to prepare the way to a monarchical throne. He allowed the Emigrés, who were willing to pledge their allegiance to him, to return to France. He changed the Cisalpine Republic into the Italian Republic and had himself elected its president. He purged the Legislative Department and the Tribunate of his opponents, and transferred the powers of these bodies to a subservient Senate. (The Tribunate was *abolished* in 1807.) A plebiscite adroitly managed elected him Consul for life by three and a half million votes against a few thousand, whilst a senatorial decree gave him the right of appointing a successor (1802). Other senatorial decrees abolished the Constitution of the year VIII., and substituted a new one (the fifth), according to which electors for life presented candidates for the assemblies, from among whom the government chose the members. The First Consul took an active part in the compilation of a uniform code of civil law, the Code Napoléon. From this code, excellent in many regards for its legal clearness and systematic arrangement, the revolutionary and anti-christian doctrine of civil marriage and civil divorce has passed into many modern legislations. The reorganization of the University (completed in 1808) with its State examinations, the official position of the leaders, the 6,400 scholarships exclusively in the gift of the First Consul, placed the entire system of higher education under the control of the State. The improvement of finance, the encouragement of commerce and industry, the foundations of schools of arts and of trades, the building of roads and canals, all under the supervision of the First Consul, who displayed an astonishing capacity for work, revived the material prosperity and the national wealth of France.

In 1803 Napoleon approached the Bourbon princes to effect a resignation of their rights to the throne. But Louis XVIII., then at Warsaw, spurned every offer.

284. **Removal of Opponents.**— As early as 1800 Napoleon had seized the occasion of an unsuccessful Chouan conspiracy against his life to deport 130 surviving Terrorists, not for complicity in this plot, but for their previous conduct. When the Concordat, and the introduction of a new decoration called "The Legion of Honor" roused the ire of Moreau's republican soldiers, Napoleon sent 35,000 of them to San Domingo, where the negroes during the Revolution had shaken off French supremacy, to reconquer the island. Only a few thousand returned from the disastrous expedition. The following year the French royalists in England who clustered around the Count of Artois, began to

pull wires with the disaffected republicans. Their plan was to strike down the First Consul in the midst of his guards and then to appeal to the people. Their chief agents were the Chouan leader, George Cadoudal and General Pichegru, who had escaped from Cayenne. Moreau's complicity could not be proved. Aware of the plot, Napoleon ordered the police to encourage the intriguers with a view of getting the Count of Artois into his power (1803). When all hope of seizing the Count on French soil vanished, the plot was published in 1804, and proceedings were begun. Pichegru was found mysteriously strangled in his prison. Cadoudal, with eleven others, was executed. Moreau was banished to America for two years. To strike the Bourbons personally, the innocent Duke of Enghien, last heir of the House of Condé, was forcibly arrested in the territory of Baden, conveyed to Vincennes, subjected to a mock trial at midnight, and shot before morning. These tragedies filled Europe with consternation, reduced the royalists to silence and inaction, and deprived the Republicans of their only formidable leader.

285. Napoleon I. Hereditary Emperor, 1804–1815. — Everything was prepared. On May 8th, 1804, the Tribunate and the Senate conferred the imperial title on Napoleon Bonaparte and his descendants. In default of a present heir the succession was settled on his brothers Joseph and Louis. His elevation was ratified by a plebiscite of over 3,500,000 votes against 2,569. He now surrounded himself with a brilliant court, in which not only the new nobility — revolutionists, former terrorists, regicides, dubbed with courtly titles — but also members of the ancient nobility, figured conspicuously. Eighteen generals were named Marshals of the Empire, and received, in the course of new campaigns, conquered cities as principalities and dukedoms. Napoleon invited Pius VII. to Paris to crown him Emperor. After long and anxious deliberations Pius VII. consented in the sole hope of promoting the interests of religion in France. At the coronation in Notre Dame, December 2d, Pius VII. anointed Napoleon I., but when he approached to crown him, the Emperor snatched the diadem from his hands and placed it on his head himself. Napoleon then crowned his wife Josephine.

The Pope was disappointed. The organic articles remained unrepealed. It was even proposed to Pius VII. to fix his seat in Paris with a hint that the Emperor had the power to enforce his wish. The Pope calmly replied, "that for such an emergency his resignation was already in the hands of Cardinal Pignatelli; the moment he was deprived of his liberty, he would cease to be Pope and become once more the Benedictine monk, Barnabo

Chiaramonti." No further obstacles were placed in the way of his departure.

The following year Napoleon crowned himself King of Italy with the Iron Crown of Lombardy. He then appointed Eugene Beauharnais, Josephine's son of her first marriage, Viceroy of Italy, and annexed the Ligurian Republic, Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla to France.

Brück; Alzog; Darras: *Hist. of the Cath. Church.* — Léon Séché: *Les Origines du Concordat.* — C. C. Fauriel: *The Last Days of the Consulate.* — M. H. Allies: *Life of Pope Pius VII.*, also M. '80. 2. — R. Parsons: *Pius VII.* Studies V. — Mad. de Rémusat: *Memoirs:* M. '80. 3. — Letters of Mad. de Rémusat: M. '81. 2. — *About the Duke d' Enghien:* Lanfrey, V. ch. 9-10; Ed. Rev. '89, 2.

§ 3.

WAR OF THE THIRD COALITION.

286. **The Third Coalition.** — Whilst Paris was revelling in the festivities of the new order of things, another war cloud had already begun to overshadow Europe. As early as 1803, a colonial war had broken out between England and France in consequence of England's refusal to surrender Malta to the Knights of St. John. This war between two neighbors soon became a European conflict between 1803 and 1805. England seized San Domingo and various colonies ceded in the Peace of Amiens, called 300,000 volunteers to arms, and added 40,000 to the 80,000 marines already serving in the navy. Napoleon established a strong military encampment at Boulogne, threw an army into Hanover, the patrimony of George III., occupied Naples for refusing an alliance with him, and garrisoned the Papal cities of Ancona and Civitá Vecchia as if they were his own. Pitt, who returned to office, negotiated the Third Coalition against France, comprising England, Russia, Austria and Sweden for the purpose of restoring the European balance of power disturbed by Napoleon's recent aggressions in Germany and Italy. Prussia did not openly join the Coalition, but concluded a secret treaty with Russia. Napoleon had the active support of Spain, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and some other States that had been gainers in the breaking up of the German Empire.

287. Ulm and Trafalgar. — Deceived by Napoleon's feint against England at Boulogne, Austria began hostilities by invading Bavaria and dispatching Archduke Charles to Italy. This precipitate action was just what Napoleon most desired. Confiding in Massena to cope with the Archduke, Napoleon himself directed the campaign in Germany. With astonishing rapidity he hurried his

various army corps from Boulogne, from Hanover, from the allied German States to the Danube, and before his designs were guessed, he had completely enveloped the Austrian army in Ulm, and cut off retreat. After several sharp encounters in which the Austrians lost 20,000 men, General Mack was forced to surrender in his stronghold with 30,000 stands of arms. The French loss did not exceed 8,000.— The day after the evacuation of Ulm the combined navies of France and Spain were destroyed by the English off Trafalgar. Nelson fell early in the action.

288. Austerlitz — Undeterred by this disaster, Napoleon, by skillfully concerting his operations with those of his generals, pushed into the very heart of Austria. He entered Vienna without resistance, advanced into Moravia and established his headquarters at Brünn. It was here that Francis II. and Alexander I. had at last joined their forces. In the pitched battle fought at Austerlitz December 2, "The Battle of the Three Emperors," Napoleon completely defeated the armies of Austria and Russia. Francis II. sued for peace. In a personal interview with Napoleon he concluded a truce which compelled him to dismiss his Russian allies.

289. Napoleon and Prussia. — To join Napoleon before Ulm, Bernadotte had violated the neutral territory of Anspach belonging to Prussia. Frederic William III. at first swallowed the affront in the fond hope held out to him by Napoleon of obtaining the imperial crown in case Austria were effectually humbled. But when the Czar joined Francis II., the King of Prussia sent Count Haugnitz to Napoleon with a declaration of war. The count arrived in the French camp on the eve of the great conflict, but was told by Napoleon to deliver his message after the battle. The day being won, Haugnitz was among the first to congratulate the victor. Napoleon then offered Hanover, the heritage of George III., to Prussia. With some hesitation the King accepted the bribe, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Napoleon, and ceded Anspach and Baireuth to Bavaria, and Neufchatel to France.

290. The Peace of Pressburg, 1806. — The definite Treaty of Peace with Francis II. was signed at Pressburg. Austria yielded Venice, Istria and Dalmatia to the Kingdom of Italy, the Tyrol and other contiguous provinces and the free city of Augsburg to Bavaria, her Suabian possessions to Würtemberg and Baden, and received the territory of Salzburg as a small indemnification. Bavaria and Wür-

temberg were made kingdoms. The peace entailed on the House of Austria the loss of one-fifth of its territory and of nearly all the outlets to the sea. No peace was concluded by Napoleon with England and Russia.

291. Additional Results of the Battle of Austerlitz. — (a.) Immediately after the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon issued a decree from the palace of Schoenbrunn at Vienna that "the Royal House of Naples had ceased to reign." A Russo-English expedition which had landed at Naples, withdrew. Joseph, Napoleon's eldest brother, was proclaimed King of Naples, whilst the Bourbons retired to the island of Sicily.

(b.) The Batavian Republic was changed into a kingdom, and Louis, Napoleon's third brother, proclaimed King of Holland.

(c.) Cleve and Berg (the latter ceded by Bavaria), were joined into the Grand Duchy of Berg, and given to Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law.

(d.) In Germany Napoleon organized the Confederacy of the Rhine which gradually came to include all the German States except Austria, Prussia, Brunswick, and electoral Hesse. It was an alliance under the protectorate of Napoleon, offensive and defensive in perpetuity. The Confederation had to furnish the Emperor an army of 63,000 men. Francis I. of Austria (1806–1835) now formally abdicated the crown of the Holy Roman Empire.

Napoleon at once began to arrange a number of family alliances in order to consolidate his power by the intermarriage of his relatives with older dynasties. Thus Eugene the Viceroy married a daughter of the King of Bavaria; Louis of Holland was compelled by his brother to marry Hortense, daughter of Josephine; the Emperor's brother Jerome had to dismiss his American wife (Miss Patterson), and marry a princess of Würtemberg.

Lanfrey, v. 2.— Lockhart. — W. O'C. Morris: *Napoleon.— Lives of Pitt.*— W. C. Russell: *Nelson and the Naval Supremacy of England* — Capt. Mahan: *Life of Nelson.* — James-Chamier: *Naval Hist. of Great Brit.* 1793-1820. — Robert A. O'Byrne: *James' Naval Hist. epitomized in one Vol.* — J. R. Seeley: *Life and Times of Stein.* — Bryce: *The Holy Roman Empire.* — Oscar Browning; *Queen Caroline of Naples*, 1803-1806; E. H. R. 2. 4.— *Mémoirs de Général Baron de Marbot, I.* (Gênes, Austerlitz, Eylau.)

§ 4.

THE WAR WITH PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA. — 1806–1807.

292. Causes. — " To conquer England on the Continent " was henceforth Napoleon's settled policy. To this end he bid Prussia close her rivers against England. He garrisoned half of Germany with French troops and allowed Murat to seize additional towns. He secretly prevented the formation of the northern Confederacy under Prussia's leadership which he himself had proposed to Frederic William. He added the galling indignity of offering the restitution of Hanover to England, without even consulting Prussia, if England would abandon the defense of Sicily. Whilst he thus treated the *government* of Prussia with unfeigned contempt, he roused the hatred of the Prussian *people* by an act of international violence, the seizure and execution of a peaceful citizen, Palm, at Nüremberg, for publishing an attack against him. Prussia's King, with his habitual indecision, was still negotiating in Paris and arming at home, when Napoleon appeared in Germany. Prussia had only two allies, distant Russia, which voluntarily offered her aid, and Saxony, which was coerced into cooperation by a Prussian invasion. The Cabinet was undecided. England, angered at the annexation of Hanover, kept aloof.

293. Jena and Auerstädt, 1806. — The Prussian army concentrated on the Saale in Thuringia under the Duke of Brunswick. The commander had grown old; the army was badly drilled; the officers, arrogant and insubordinate, overrated their own strength and underrated that of the French. They were quickly undeceived. The Prussian advance under Prince Ludwig Ferdinand was defeated by the French at Saalfeld (October 10), the Prince himself killed. Napoleon now crossed the Saale, and by blowing up the magazines of Naumburg announced to the King of Prussia that he was in his rear. The decisive battle — the double battle at Jena and Auerstädt — was fought October 13. Napoleon's heavy artillery being yet thirty-six hours in the rear, he planted his light guns on a rock which the Prussians had deemed inaccessible, and which commanded the battle field. The impetuosity of Murat's cavalry broke up the main army of the Prussians after a brave resistance. On the road to Weimar the routed Prussians met their comrades fleeing from Auerstädt; 20,000 Prussians were killed or taken, 300 guns, seventy generals and sixty standards captured. The Duke of Brunswick received a wound in the face of which he died the following month.

The routed divisions fell an easy prey to the French pursuers. Whole regiments were captured by the way. Prince Eugene of Würtenberg surrendered with 16,000 men at Halle; the Prince of Hohenlohe with 20,000 men at Prenzlau. The brave General Blücher lost 4,000 prisoners at Lübeck, and had to surrender on the Danish frontiers. The Prussian fortresses with few exceptions fell with incredible rapidity. The king fled to Koenigsberg followed by the remnants of his army.

294. The Berlin Decrees 1807. — In the flush of victory and power Napoleon issued his famous "Berlin Decrees," by which he intended to deal a deadly blow to English commerce. All European ports were closed to British trade, all English goods were confiscated wherever found; all Englishmen that could be seized were made prisoners of war. This "Continental System," could not, however, be well maintained. It affected the personal comforts of millions. Smuggling, bribery, evasions of every sort, practiced or connived at by officials high and low, not excepting Napoleon's brothers, frustrated its efficiency.

295. The Russian Campaign — Eylau and Friedland, 1807. — In the meantime the Russians were collecting on the banks of the Vistula. By way of preparation for the impending struggle, Napoleon levied heavy contributions of men and money in the conquered provinces. He concluded an alliance with the Elector of Saxony, who joined the Rhenish Confederacy as King of Saxony. By appeals to their patriotism and by numerous proclamations he called the Poles to arms, and was received by them with indescribable enthusiasm, though he gave them no formal promise of liberation. Leaving Murat at Warsaw, Napoleon crossed the Vistula and pursued the Russians who retreated to Pultusk. Here several bloody engagements were fought. The severity of the season, however, soon forced the parties to seek winter quarters. Early in February, Napoleon was stirred out of his winter quarters by Russians under Beningsen, marching from Koenigsberg to the relief of Danzig and other forts still held by the Prussians. Napoleon met the united Russians and Prussians on the frozen plains of Eylau in a murderous two days' battle (October 7 and 8). The Prussians defeated the right wing of the French under Davoust, but Napoleon remained master of the battlefield and stayed long enough to see the enemy withdraw toward Koenigsberg, whereupon he returned into winter quarters. Operations being resumed in May, Danzig, in spite of its brave resistance, was captured by the French. After various maneuvers the

decisive blow was struck at Friedland on the Aller, June 14. By his masterly movements Napoleon drew the whole Russian army from their sheltered position on the eastern bank to the western, where they were at his mercy. In broken columns the Russians retreated to the Niemen.

296. The Meeting of Tilsit. — On June 21st Beningsen demanded and obtained a truce. On the 25th the Emperors of France and Russia met on a raft moored in the Niemen near Tilsit. The two sovereigns seemed to pass in a moment from open war to the most friendly relations. The import of their long private interview has never been revealed, but there is little doubt that they virtually divided Europe between themselves; Alexander leaving a free hand to Napoleon as to Spain, Portugal and England, whilst he was to count on equal forbearance in the North and in Turkey. To save appearances King Frederic William was then invited to an interview and also to the Treaty of Peace, but was treated with cold civility.

297. Peace of Tilsit between France and Russia, July 7; between France and Prussia, July 9, 1807. — (a.) The eastern cessions of Prussia, including whatever Frederic II. had annexed in the second and third Partitions of Poland, were erected into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and bestowed on the King of Saxony, except Danzig which became a free city, and a part of West Prussia which was ceded to Russia.

(b.) Russia recognized the Napoleonic kings and the Confederacy of the Rhine, which now included all Germany save the Austrian, Prussian, and Danish lands. In a secret treaty Alexander ceded the Ionian islands to France, and concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with Napoleon against England in case the latter should reject the proffered peace.

(c.) The western cessions of Prussia, the lands between the Elbe and the Rhine were placed at Napoleon's disposal, and were, with a few exceptions, united into the kingdom of Westphalia and given to Jerome Bonaparte, Napoleon's youngest brother, the seventh king created by the conqueror. Prussia had to reduce its army to 42,000 men and to join the Continental System until the conclusion of a peace with England

By a supplementary treaty at Koenigsberg it was settled that the French would continue to occupy the Prussian provinces and fortresses until Prussia should have paid her war indemnities in full. Prussia placed the arrears at

19,000,000; the French demanded 120,000,000, and in 1808, 140,000,000. Until evacuation occurred, Prussia, reduced to one-half of her size, had to support 140,000 French troops. Prussia employed the time of her weakness and humiliation to reform her administration and army. The patriotic Baron von Stein freed industry, abolished serfdom, and reformed the management of public finances. Scharnhorst quietly reorganized the army on the basis of universal military service without increasing the active strength of the army beyond the number allowed by Napoleon. For as soon as a batch of recruits were sufficiently drilled, they were quietly sent home and replaced by others.

Lanfrey, v. 3-4. — Lockhart. — Marbot: *Memoirs.* — Seeley's *Stein.* — Minister v. Stein, E. R., '56, 1. — Seeley: *Prussian History; Macmillan's Mag.* v. 36, p. 342.— Rambaud: *Hist. of Russia.*— Rose: *Nap. and Engl. Commerce*, E. R. '8, 4.— *Text of English Orders in Council and Decrees*, in Levi: *Hist of British Commerce — Nap. and Alex. I.*, Q. R. '93, 4. — Albert Vandal: *Napoléon and Alexandre I., vol. 1. L'Alliance Russe.*

§ 5.

THE PENINSULAR WAR AND ITS COMPLICATIONS.

298. **Napoleon and the Smaller States.** — Denmark had been summoned by Napoleon to join the Continental System. In retaliation England sent a powerful squadron to Copenhagen and without a declaration of war bombarded the city for three days, and carried off the Danish fleet. This unwarranted action had the result of driving Denmark into Napoleon's arms, whilst it furnished Russia with a plea to declare war against England according to the secret understanding at Tilsit, and to occupy Finland.

In Italy the Kingdom of Etruria was taken possession of by Eugene the Viceroy, because English merchandise had been allowed to enter Leghorn.

99. Spain and Portugal. — Portugal had refused to submit to the Berlin Decrees. To coerce it Napoleon desired the cooperation of Spain. Spanish affairs at this junction were in a most deplorable condition. Charles IV., the King, was a weakling; his dissolute Queen was swayed by her favorite, the upstart Godoy, "the Prince of Peace." The Infante Ferdinand, the heir to the throne, was leagued with the malcontents against his parents and their hated minister. The distracted state of things afforded Napoleon an easy means of subduing not only Portugal, but Spain as well. He lured Godoy into his toils by making him party to a scheme of dividing Portugal between themselves and the Queen of Etruria, whom he had just deprived of her kingdom in Italy. Accordingly in November, 1809, a French army under Junot, reinforced

by a Spanish contingent, entered Portugal. A few hours before Junot appeared before Lisbon, John of Braganza, regent for his insane mother, Maria, sought safety on English ships, and with the royal family and treasures embarked for Brazil. Disgusted with the cowardice of the royal house, the people suffered Junot to take capital and kingdom almost without protest. Napoleon now ignored his stipulated partition with Godoy, and simply decreed that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign.

300. The Acquisition of Spain.— Soon after 100,000 Frenchmen under pretext of guarding the coasts against England, entered Spain, seized, in a friendly country, all the strong places within their reach, and by a concentric movement pushed their way towards Madrid. A suspicion that the King and Queen were preparing to leave the country caused an insurrection at Aranjuez. Godoy was captured by the infuriated populace, but succeeded in effecting his escape. In his fright, Charles IV. abdicated in favor of his son, Ferdinand VII. While this home revolution was going on, the French under Murat entered Madrid. Through his agents Napoleon now persuaded Charles IV. to retract his abdication as obtained by force. He next succeeded in enticing the royal pair, their sons, Ferdinand and Don Carlos, and the Prince of Peace, to Bayonne, where amid disgraceful scenes of family rancor he compelled them to resign in his favor the throne of Spain. Only Don Carlos absolutely refused to surrender his rights. The royal heads received in compensation a few castles and a yearly pension of 10,000,000 francs to be paid out of the Spanish taxes. Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed King of Spain, whilst Murat took his place as King of Naples. By rousing the mortal resistance of a patriotic nation Napoleon embarked in an enterprise which ultimately led to his downfall.

301. The Rising of the Spaniards and Portuguese. — The Spaniards everywhere rose almost simultaneously, nobles, peasants, citizens, monks, priests, soldiers, vied with each other in patriotic zeal. All partisans of Napoleon and Godoy, French residents and soldiers, single or in detachments, were cut down without mercy. Self-organized bodies or juntas assumed the conduct of affairs in most cities and provinces, seized arsenals, armed the population and

decreed levies en masse. The army before Valencia was forced to retreat. At Baylon Dupont was beaten and capitulated with 20,000 men. This defeat necessitated the evacuation of Madrid and the flight of King Joseph. The siege of Saragossa, heroically defended by the citizens under José Palafox, had to be raised. The French armies retreated to the Ebro. Portugal had followed the example of Spain. English aid was sought and obtained.

302. The English in the Peninsula. — In August, 1881, 14,000 English under Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, landed at Oporto in Portugal. Junot advanced as far as the Torres Vedras to drive him back into the sea, but was defeated at Vimiero. By the Convention of Cintra the French army had to evacuate the whole of Portugal. English ships conveyed them with arms and baggage to French harbors.

303. The Meeting at Erfurt. — Napoleon hearing of the reverses in Spain and Portugal perceived that his own presence there was necessary. The disasters sustained by his armies had produced an indescribable sensation throughout Europe. Austria openly refused to acknowledge Joseph as King of Spain and was arming secretly. All over Germany secret societies (the " Tugendbund ") were forming for the purpose of driving out one day their foreign oppressors. Napoleon arranged a meeting with Alexander I. at Erfurt to show Europe the strength of his influence and to intimidate Austria. The Emperor of Russia, four kings, and thirty-four ruling princes paid homage to the conqueror. In the Treaty of Erfurt Alexander engaged to co-operate with Napoleon against England and Austria, while Napoleon undertook to support Alexander should Austria oppose the Russian occupation of the Danube Principalities.

304. Napoleon's Spanish Campaign. — Having detailed two fresh levies of 80,000 men each to serve in Germany and Italy, Napoleon crossed into Spain, whither he had already dispatched over 200,000 veterans. At Vittoria, disdaining the palace prepared for him, he alighted at the first roadside inn, called for maps and reports, and within two hours drew up his plan of attack. Three Spanish armies of 100,000 men had formed a wide crescent resting on the French frontiers. First the Spanish left was broken after a few fierce onslaughts. Next the combined armies of the center at Tudela were scattered to the winds. Then detailing Marshal Soult to keep the English in check, Napoleon made for Madrid. In pass-

ing through the almost inaccessible defiles of Somosierra he was stopped by a corps of 12,000 men. Napoleon himself rode up into the mouth of the pass to scan the situation; seeing that his infantry would be useless, he directed his Polish lancers to storm the batteries and to clear the way. Madrid had prepared for a vigorous defense, but was reduced after a siege of twenty-four hours. The victor proclaimed a general amnesty with but a few exceptions, and by a number of decrees suppressed the feudal rights, the Inquisition, the custom house duties between the provinces, and one-third of the monasteries. He then turned against Sir John Moore, who had landed with 33,000 men in Portugal and crossed into Spain. But seeing the English in retreat, he left them to Soult; Moore's retreat to Corunna became an undisciplined rout. But at Corunna the English stood at bay and gave battle to Soult with the result that they secured their embarkment for England. Moore fell mortally wounded in the action which repelled the French attack on all hands. Napoleon, meanwhile, returned to Paris before he had obtained a lasting victory. The Emperor of Austria in distrust of Napoleon's promises was preparing for war to prevent being swallowed up by the Conqueror.

Saragossa fell in the second siege, February, 1809, after losing 50,000 men in the two sieges. Palafox, its heroic defender, was retained a prisoner till the Emperor's fall. The south of Spain remained practically unconquered.

Lanfrey v. 3.—Lockhart. — R. Southey: *Hist. of the Peninsular War.* — H. R. Clinton; Gen. Foy; Napier: *Hist. of the War in the Peninsula.* — F. Hamilton: *Annals of the Penins. Campaign.*— *Wellington in the Peninsula;* Q. R. '67, 2. — *Lives of the D. of Wellington,* by Brialmont-Gleig; Hooper; Maxwell; Morris (*Great Commanders*); Roberts: (*Rise of W.*); Stacqueler; Williams; Wilson: (*Illustr. Soldiers*). — Rose: *Channing and Denmark in 1807:* E. H. R. 11. 1. — *Wellington's Milit. Career:* E. R. 38, 4; 39, 3; '59, 3. 62, 3. — *Gen. Marbot.* E. R. 92. 1.

§ 6.

THE WAR WITH AUSTRIA IN 1809.

305. Declaration of War. — Austria declared war April 6, 1809. The rising of the Spaniards had encouraged Francis I. to attempt the recovery of his lost possessions and to extricate himself from his perilous position between two powerful foes, France and Russia. The country answered his appeal with patriotic eagerness. Hundreds of thousands flocked to the Habsburg standard. The Hungarians, roused to enthusiasm by the Empress,

sent 12,000 horsemen and 50,000 infantry. The people brought their cash and their gold and silverware to cover the expenses. Archduke Charles, who had reorganized the army, headed the main corps and invaded Bavaria. A second army, under Archduke John, entered Italy and reckoned on the support of the Tirolese. A third army under Archduke Ferdinand operated against Russia by invading Poland and taking Warsaw.

306. The Campaign on the Upper Danube. — Napoleon assumed the conduct of the war in Germany at the head of 300-000 men. His military genius never appeared more fertile in resources than during the five days' battles in which, whilst repeatedly rectifying the blunders of his generals, he first defeated then utterly routed the advance corps of Archduke Ludwig at Thaun, Abensberg, Eckmühl and Landshut, broke through the Austrian center held by 100,000 under Archduke Charles, drove the fugitive troops out of Ratisbon, and pushed the broken corps of the enemy across the Danube and into Bohemia. Massena defeated the last Austrian army that obstructed the way to Vienna, and Napoleon appeared before the walls of the capital May 9, and received its capitulation May 10th, after Archduke Maximilian had evacuated the city. For the second time the Emperor of the French established his headquarters at the Imperial palace of Schoenbrunn.

307. Napoleon's First Defeat at Aspern and Essling, May 21 and 22. — In Bohemia Archduke Charles promptly reunited and recruited his armies, and recalled Ferdinand from Poland, and John from Italy. Thus reinforced he advanced again to the Danube opposite Vienna. To give him battle Napoleon transferred his men to the island of Lobau and thence by a bridge of boats to the left bank, and occupied the villages of Aspern and Essling. Confident of victory the Austrians rushed to the attack. For two days the battle raged with unabated fury and gallantry on both sides; 50,000 dead strewed the field. In the second night Napoleon deemed it prudent to recross to Lobau to save his communication with Vienna. It was his first defeat. Archduke Charles had won the field, but his heavy losses prevented him from pursuing his advantage.

308. Wagram, July 5th and 6th. — Napoleon's situation had become critical. His absence and his defeat were animating the

risings of the subjugated peoples. Only a decisive victory at Vienna could restore his prestige in the distance. Hence with indefatigable activity he fortified his position at Lobau, accumulated forces from all quarters and constructed a series of open bridges and hidden floats, whereby to cross the Danube en masse. On July 4th, Napoleon made a great feint to cross on the open bridges. While the Austrians in their strong redoubts were alert to dispute the passage, Napoleon under cover of the following night threw his floats and rafts across the river lower down and before dawn had flanked the enemy and rendered their entrenchments useless. On July 6th, the two greatest hosts of modern times, 350,000 disciplined soldiers, met on the plain of Wagram in murderous strife. Napoleon won the day. The Austrians retreated to Moravia; at Znaim a truce was signed with a view to a definite peace.

309. English Enterprises in Spain and Holland. — The peace negotiations were retarded because both parties waited for the outcome of two English expeditions, one to Spain, and one to Holland. Marshal Soult had meanwhile conquered Portugal as far as Oporto. Here he was surprised by Wellesley and forced to evacuate the kingdom. Wellesley advanced toward Madrid with 50,000 English and Spanish soldiers, and defeated King Joseph at Talavera. The victory made him Viscount Wellington. The massing of French troops in his rear, however, caused his precipitate retreat into Portugal. The second English expedition of nearly 1,000 vessels carrying 40,000 men landed in the island of Walcheren. The capture of Flushing was the only exploit of the armament which ended in complete failure. The retreat of Wellington and the failure of the Walcheren expedition brought the peace negotiations to an issue.

310. The Peace of Vienna. — The Peace of Vienna was concluded on the basis of population. Austria ceded a population of 1,500,000 on the frontiers of Italy and Dalmatia to Napoleon; a population of 2,000,000 souls in Galicia to be divided between Saxony and Russia. Saxony received the lion's share, the Duchy of Warsaw and all West Galicia, whilst only one district of East Galicia went to Russia. This division, suggesting a possible revival of Poland, roused the suspicions of Alexander I. The territory ceded by Austria amounted to 32,000 square miles. The lands adjacent to Illyria together with the Ionian Islands were formed by Napoleon into the new State of the Illyrian Provinces, under Mar-

shal Marmont as Duke of Ragusa. Napoleon thus completed the connection of Italy with his Illyrian possessions, obtained the entire coast of the Adriatic and stripped Austria of her last seaport. The Emperor was now at the summit of his power (1810–12). Holland was annexed to France after the abdication and flight of King Louis, who had refused to ruin his country by the Continental System. The annexation to France of the Hansa towns, a part of Germany and Switzerland, swelled the number of the French departments to 130.

311. **The Rising of the Tyrolese 1809–10.** — When opening the campaign, Archduke Charles had summoned the German people to take part in the struggle against French supremacy. The Tyrol alone under the patriotic leadership of Andreas Hofer answered the summons by a general rising. The mountaineers seized the passes of the Alps. In a few days they cleared the country of every French and Bavarian soldier. They repelled a French invasion under General Lefevre and in their turn invaded Bavaria, all without the aid of any regular troops. Left to the mercy of Napoleon in the Peace of Vienna they continued the war with heroic courage, but were in the end subdued by superior numbers. Andreas Hofer was captured, and shot by the French at Mantua. The Tyrol was divided between Bavaria, the kingdom of Italy and the Illyrian provinces.

312. **The War in the Peninsula.** — From the victorious field of the Danube, Massena, now Prince of Essling, was sent to Portugal, where at the head of 100,000 men he operated against the 50,000 English and Portuguese under Wellington. The English commander retreated to the Torres Vedras where he entrenched himself in an unassailable position, and secured Lisbon and the adjacent territory against all attacks. The next spring (1811) Wellington defeated Massena, and once more drove the French out of Portugal. In Spain the guerrilla war continued, all the principal fortresses save Cadiz and Valencia were in the hands of the French, but they could not count an inch of soil their own beyond the outposts of the forts. The nation was unsubdued. After the deliverance of Portugal, Wellington in 1812 captured the cities of Ciudad Roderigo and Badajoz, won the battle of Salamanca, and entered Madrid. The superior strength of the French forces, however, compelled him to fall back upon Ciudad Roderigo.

313. The Spanish Constitution of 1812. — The French Revolution, the rotten administration of Godoy, and the demoralization caused by the civil war, greatly changed the political views of large sections of the Spanish people. When the Cortes were summoned to Cadiz in 1810 to replace the incapable Central Junta, the majority of its members were enthusiastic adherents of popular

sovereignty. In endless deliberations they worked out the misshapen Constitution of 1812. In it the Cortes declared themselves independent of the King who could neither summon, prorogue nor dissolve them. A law passed in three successive sessions did not require royal assent. If the King married or left the country without the consent of the Cortes, he was considered as having abdicated. A Council of State chosen from candidates presented by the Cortes had the appointment of the judges and the ecclesiastical dignitaries. The ministers were in the minutest details of their departments subject to the supervision of the Cortes. The only clause which connected Spain with its historical past, was the recognition of the Catholic religion as the religion of the State. This Constitution was the work of revolutionary doctrinaires. It did not represent the conviction of the people. It plunged Spain into endless civil wars. By refusing active and passive representation to the Spaniards living in the colonies it contributed to the subsequent separation of the American colonies from the Spanish crown.

Lanfrey, v. 3-4. — Kelly: *Hist. of the House of Austria* (Continuation of Coxe). — J. C. Rope's *Lectures* (4) *on the First Nap.* — Seeley's *Stein.* — C. K. Hall: *Life of Andrew Hofer.* — *Memoirs of A. Hofer.* — *Hist. of A. Hofer, Quarterly Rev.*, July, 1817. — *The Tyrolese in 1809*, E. R. '27. — *About Spain, see* § 5, also, Gen. Vane: *Story of the Penins. War.* — Gen. Jones: *Journal of the Sieges in Spain.* — Marbot's *Memoirs, vol. II. Madrid Essling Torres Vedras.*

§ 7.

PIUS VII. AND NAPOLEON I.

314. The Prisoner of the Quirinal. — The grasping ambition of Napoleon brought him into early conflict with the Sovereign Pontiff. Where he could, Pius VII. yielded for the sake of peace, but on questions of right and principle, he was inflexible. The common Father of Christendom, the guardian of Christian morality and of the Patrimony of St. Peter could not join the Continental System, nor sanction the spoliation of Naples, nor regard Napoleon's foes as his own; he could not resign the papal right to Ancona; above all he could not give his sanction to the civil marriage and divorce laws of the Code Napoléon, and to the Gallican liberties, nor could he comply with Napoleon's demand to solve the bonds of matrimony between Jerome Bonaparte and his lawful American wife. To intimidate Pius VII. Napoleon in 1808 ordered General Miollis to occupy Rome. In dignified reply the Pontiff declared that pending the occupation he would consider himself a prisoner in the Quirinal and decline all negotiations. During this

first year of his captivity, Pius VII. had to witness unheard of violences in his dominions. Napoleon as "successor of Charles the Great" revoked the donations of Pipin and Charles, and annexed the Duchies (Ancona, Urbino, Macerato and Camerino) to the kingdom of Italy. Cardinals and bishops were banished, papal officials arrested, papal subjects sentenced to death. Napoleon demanded the suppression of the religious orders, the abolition of celibacy and the erection of a French Patriarchate. Nothing was left the Pontiff but to address an Encyclical of protest and remonstrance to the Catholic world.

315. Destruction of the Papal States, 1809. — May 17, 1809, Napoleon issued his decree from the palace of Schoenbrunn which transformed the Papal States into French Departments, made Rome the second city of the Empire, and assigned to the Pope a salary of 2,000,000 francs and the possession of his palaces. On June 10, whilst the cannon of St. Angelo announced the end of the Papal government, Pius VII. signed a Bull of excommunication against Napoleon and his agents without mentioning names. Napoleon made light of it. Even before the Bull was issued he wrote to the Viceroy: "What does Pius VII. expect from denouncing me to Christendom? Does he imagine that *their arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers?*" On the night of July 5, General Radet in pursuance of his orders, surrounded the Quirinal, scaled the walls, forced the doors and disarmed the Swiss guard. Axe in hand he entered the room where Pius VII. with Cardinals Consalvi and Pacca awaited him, and demanded the immediate abdication of the Pope as temporal ruler. The Pope firmly refused. Thereupon Pius VII. accompanied only by his secretary Pacca, was conducted to a traveling carriage, and removed from his capital. The same night, in spite of the watchfulness of the French soldiery, the Bull of excommunication and the farewell address of Pius VII. to the Roman people were affixed to the doors of the chief basilicas. The captive Pope was conveyed under a military escort to Florence, to Turin, thence to Grenoble in France and back to Savona. Here Cardinal Pacca was separated from the Pontiff and confined in the Alpine fortress of Fenestrella.

316. Napoleon's Divorce. — As early as 1796 Napoleon had contracted a civil marriage with the widowed Josephine de Beauharnais. The marriage was most probably a valid union because in

1796 the recourse to a legitimate parish priest prescribed by the Council of Trent was morally impossible. At the urgent solicitation of Josephine, Cardinal Fesch performed a secret ecclesiastical ceremony on the eve of Napoleon's coronation (Dec. 1, 1804) to which the Emperor assented for the sole purpose of appeasing the scruples of his wife. This ceremony had no influence on the original marriage, for in spite of this outward consent Napoleon was resolved not to bind himself by the new ceremony. As Emperor of the French he desired above all to have a lineal descendant, and Josephine was childless. Having now, in 1809, reached the pinnacle of his power, he considered the time arrived to sacrifice Josephine and to seek the hand of Maria Louisa, daughter of Emperor Francis I. The Senate granted the civil divorce without difficulty Dec. 16, 1809. But the court of Vienna demanded an ecclesiastical decision about the former marriage. The only competent authority to give the decision in the case was the Pope. But Napoleon did not dare to submit the question to his prisoner. Accordingly he laid the case before a church court called the Officiality of Paris. But as this court was incompetent and its decision dictated not by canon law but by abject servility to the Emperor, the divorce thus obtained was void of legal force. It served, however, its purpose of calming the consciences of the court of Vienna and its compliant Archbishop.

Napoleon *invited* the bishops and *ordered* the Cardinals to repair to Paris in order to adorn by their presence the celebration of his victories and of his marriage with the Habsburg princess. Consalvi and twelve other Cardinals absented themselves from the marriage festivities; in revenge Napoleon confiscated their property, sent them into exile, and forbade them to wear the insignia of their office. Hence the distinction between Black and Red Cardinals.

317. **The Prisoner of Savona, 1809-1812.** — Napoleon found in the patience and gentleness of Pius VII. an insurmountable obstacle to his plans. Though he cut down the number of bishoprics, suppressed the monasteries, seized the property of the prelates who rejected the Organic Articles, filled the dungeons of Fenestrella with churchmen, put the Pope himself on a prisoner's allowance and compelled him to live three years almost entirely on alms, Pius VII. could not be induced to infringe the laws of the Church. He refused to install the bishops unlawfully appointed by the Emperor. Napoleon next tried to work his will through a National Council, "My Council." This Council, dragooned into

obedience, empowered the Metropolitan to install the newly appointed bishops, if the Pope would not do it within six months. Pius VII. consented to this decree, provided the installation be performed in the name of the *Pope alone*. Thereupon Napoleon declared in high dudgeon that he would henceforward institute bishops without any papal interference, and dissolved the Council without ceremony.

318. The Prisoner of Fontainebleau. — In 1812 Napoleon ordered Pius VII., though he was dangerously sick, to be conveyed in disguise to Fontainebleau. Here Pius VII. encountered the last storm of persecution, face to face with the persecutor, and after some painful wavering energetically condemned the aggressions of Napoleon. Before long, however, the ruling of a Higher Power decided the contest. Whilst Napoleon was on the way to his first exile, Pius VII. made his triumphal progress through Italy to Rome.

Chev. O'Clery: *Hist. of the Italian Revol.* ch. 2. — M. H. Allies: *Life of Pope Pius VII.* — R. Parsons: *The Pontificate of Pius VII.; The Pretended Divorces of Nap. and Jerome Bonaparte,* Studies v. 5. — *Memoirs of Card. Pacca, Consalvi, Talleyrand* (v. 2). — H. W. Wilberforce: *The Church and Napoleon I.; Pius VII. at Savona and Fontainebleau* (*the Church and the Empires*). — H. Chotard: *Le Pape Pie VII.* à Savone. — *On Nap. Divorce* also Henri Welchinger. — Scannel: *Pius VII. at Savona,* D. R. '87. 3. — Duhr, S. J.: *Ehescheidung u. Zweite Ehe Nap.,* I. Th. Z., '88. — *Napoleon's Ehescheidung,* St. 38. — Imbert de St. Amand: (*Josephine*) *Wife of the First Consul; Court of the Empress; Happy Days of Maria Louisa.* — *Memoirs of M. Louisa.* — Albert Vandal: *Napoléon et Alexandre I.* Vol. II. *L'Alliance Russe. Le Second Mariage de Nap. Declin de l'Alliance.*

§ 8.

THE RUSSIAN WAR, 1812.

319. Causes. — Alexander I. saw in Napoleon's family alliance with Austria a menace to his sovereignty in the North. The extension of the territory of Warsaw with an independent Poland looming in the distance deeply rankled in his mind. Besides the Continental System weighed heavily on Russia's commerce. Then the annexation of the coast of Germany together with the Duchy of Oldenburg increased his disaffection, for Oldenburg had been guaranteed in the Peace of Tilsit to Alexander's brother-in-law. In this frame of mind he demanded the evacuation of Prussia by the French armies. This demand was interpreted by Napoleon as a declaration of war. Forthwith he summoned his royal vassals, among them the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, to Dresden, to make sure of their support.

This undertaking indicates an ambition bordering on madness. Alexander's grievances were easy of settlement by diplomacy. The distance and

climatic rigor of the seat of war, the difficulties of provisioning the army, the necessity of carrying on two wars at the same time, and the restlessness and hatred of the subdued nations whom he would have in his rear, were strong reasons to induce him to find a peaceful solution of the difficulties. But his mind was fixed. As if driven by a pursuing fatality he rushed into his destruction.

320. **Armaments and Preparation.** — France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and Poland had to yield their levies in the aggregate of about 550,000 men; 20,000 Prussians under York and 30,000 Austrians under Schwarzenberg formed separate corps but displayed little activity throughout the campaign. On the other hand, Sweden broke loose from France, concluded an aggressive treaty with Russia and made peace with England with which it had been at war at Napoleon's dictation. Through England's mediation Alexander settled his dispute with Turkey and established the Pruth and the Danube as southern boundaries. Thus disengaged from all other entanglements, the whole armed power of Russia — about 260,000 men — was pitched against the power of Napoleon.

321. Invasion of Russia, Battle of Borodino, 1812. — In June, 1812, " The Grand Army " crossed the Niemen, and Napoleon occupied Wilna in Lithuania. The Russian army accompanied by the peasantry constantly retreated destroying whatever they could not remove. The ensuing scarcity of provisions was still increased by the failure of the Polish Jews to fulfill their army contracts, and told terribly on man and beast. Still Napoleon hurried on. August 17 he reached Smolensk and stormed the city. But the retreating Russians delivered it to the flames. At last the Russians began to clamor for a fight. Kutusow, the new commander, took his stand at Borodino on the Moskwa. The shock was the most desperate that Napoleon had yet encountered. On Sept. 7, over 70,000 corpses covered the battle field. The defeated Russians withdrew, Napoleon pursuing them to the very walls of Moscow.

322. The Burning of Moscow, September 16–20. — The city was at once deserted by all but the rabble and the convicts that had been restored to liberty by the Governor, Rostopchin, before he departed. Napoleon took up his residence in the ancient palace of the Kremlin. For a short time his soldiers reveled in luxuries and made immense booty. But in the night of the 16th, a series of conflagrations, laid by Rostopchin's agents, broke out, and raging for four days reduced the city with its magnificent palaces, temples,

and monuments of art, to a heap of smoking ruins. Napoleon's position became hourly more critical. His proposals for a truce were ignored. The Russian hosts constantly reinforced by enthusiastic recruits, were thickening around him, and threatened to cut him off from his magazines in Poland. A reverse suffered by Murat finally induced Napoleon to retreat. His Grand Army had melted down to little over 100,000.

323. The Retreat from Moscow. — The retreating French were followed and incessantly harassed by Kutusow. Countless swarms of Kossacks hung around them by day and night. The roads were everywhere incumbered with abandoned artillery and booty and with the dying and the dead. At several places the separate corps had to engage in desperate struggles to check their pursuers. With November 6 began a season of unusually cold weather which increased the hardships to the Grand Army beyond description. *The arms literally fell from the hands of the soldiers.* Of those who had left Moscow, 40,000 effective men reached Smolensk. By his valor against overwhelming numbers at Krasnoy Marshal Ney earned the title of the "bravest of the brave." In the tragic crossing of the Berezina, Ney and Oudinot with 8,500 men forced a passage against 25,000 Russians. From this point the flight of the French became a disorganized rout. Soon after the crossing of the Berezina Napoleon, hearing of a republican rising in France, issued his last bulletin (No. 29) and hurried post-haste to Paris, where he arrived unexpected December 18. The remnants of the army continued their precipitous retreat. Of the old Imperial Guard only 500 marched into Koenigsberg. According to official accounts 240,000 bodies of the French and their allies were interred in Russia. The Russians claimed besides 100,000 prisoners. Schwarzenberg, after Napoleon's departure, concluded a truce with the Russians, and General York, on his own responsibility, a treaty of neutrality.

324. New Armaments. — Upon his arrival at home Napoleon found the republican rising suppressed and its leaders executed. In a short time he re-established his prestige, shaken by the reverses of his Russian campaign. By drawing regiments from Spain and Italy and by new levies in France he obtained an available force of 350,000 men with which he contemplated dealing a blow to his enemies that would at once replace him on the pinnacle of his former power.

E. Lebaume: *Circumstantial Narrative of the Campaign in Russia.* — Joyneville: *Alexander I.* — Rambaud's *Russia.* — Ct. de Ségur: *Hist. of the Expedition to Russia.* — J. Philippart: *Northern Campaigns, 1712-13.* — Earl Stanhope: *The French Retreat from Moscow;* Hist. Essays. — E. R., '67, 4. — Imb. de St. Amand: *Marie Louise; Decadence of the Empire.* — Albert Vandal: *Napoléon et Alexandre I.*, vol. III.; *La Rupture.* — Henri Welchinger: *Le Maréchal Ney.*

§ 9.

THE GREAT WAR OF LIBERATION, 1813.

325. New Alliances. — The year 1813 brought a great shifting of European alliances. The treaty of Kalish, February 3, reunited Russia and Prussia in a defensive and offensive alliance, which later in the year was subsidized by England. England and Sweden concluded a subsidy treaty, England pledging herself to pay 1,000,000 rix dollars, and Bernadotte, to take the field against his former chief with 30,000 men. Marshal Bernadotte had been adopted by Sweden as crown prince, in the absence of an heir to Charles XIII. Frederic William III. appealed to his army and people. In response two armies sprang into existence; the regular army quietly reorganized by Scharnhorst, and the "Landwehr" or volunteer corps. Hamburg for a short time threw off the yoke of the foreigner, but was fearfully punished by Davoust for her defection. Part of the Russian forces entered Silesia. Many Prussian fortresses, however, were still in French possession.

326. Opening of the Campaign; Bautzen. — In March, the Russians under Wittgenstein (Kutusow had lately died), and the Prussians under Blücher occupied Dresden. The French army and the confederate forces concentrated in Franconia, Thuringia, and on the Elbe. Unexpectedly attacked by the allies at Lützen, Napoleon with his old skill rearranged the position of his troops and forced the enemy to withdraw upon Leipsic and Dresden, and thence to Bautzen. After a short stay in Dresden the Emperor followed up the allies, stormed them out of their strong position at Bautzen, though with fearful loss to himself, and drove them into Silesia.

327. The Congress of Prague and Its Consequences. — Austria now stepped forward as mediator. Upon her proposal, Napoleon granted a truce and consented to a diplomatic Congress at Prague, whilst military preparations continued on both sides. Against the advice of his ministers and generals, the Emperor of the French rejected all overtures of the Powers until it was too late. The truce ended August 10. Austria at length signed an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia and Prussia for the restoration of the Austrian and Prussian monarchies to the condition of 1805. (Treaty of Teplitz, ratified September 9.) The allies supported by English subsidies placed three armies in the field: the Bohemian army, Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, commanded by Schwarzen-

berg, and accompanied by the three monarchs, Alexander I., Francis I., and Frederic William III.; the Silesian army, Russians and Prussians under Blücher; and the Northern army, Swedes, Russians and Prussians under Bernadotte. These armies were grouped in a wide circle around Napoleon's center at Dresden. The military talents of General Moreau, who had returned from his American exile, were engaged by Alexander I.

328. Battle of Dresden, August 26–27. — Hostilities were reopened at once. At Grossbeeren, Oudinot and Regnier were defeated by Bülow who, in consequence, saved Berlin. Blücher defeated Macdonald on the river Katzbach near Wahlstadt, and thereby earned a marshal's staff and the title of Prince of Wahlstadt. By the soldiers he was dubbed "Marshal Forward." These French reverses were somewhat retrieved by Napoleon's last great victory in Germany, at Dresden. The whole army of Bohemia, 200,000 men, had swooped down upon Dresden. But Napoleon on the first day checked them with smaller numbers, and concentrating meanwhile 200,000 men, completely defeated them on the second day, and drove them back into Bohemia. The allies left 8,000 dead on the field, and 20,000 prisoners in Napoleon's hand, and lost their best general, Moreau. But fortune shifted again. Vendôme while too hot in pursuit was captured with 8 or 10,000 men. A week later Marshal Ney in his attempt to capture Berlin was defeated at Dennewitz.

329. Battle of Leipsic, October 16–19.—The next movements of the armies were maneuvers for position. Bavaria being guaranteed its possessions, withdrew from the Confederacy of the Rhine and joined the allies. The allies then endeavored to unite in Napoleon's rear and thus cut off his retreat. To frustrate such a junction Napoleon concentrated his forces for a crushing blow at Leipsic. But he himself was crushed beneath the overwhelming numbers of his enraged enemies and his power broken in this great battle of nations struggling for liberation.

On the first day of the battle the allies outnumbered the French by nearly 100,000. To the south of the city Napoleon and his generals held their ground against Schwarzenberg. In the north, Marmont was driven by

Blücher closer to walls of Leipsic. The second day was a day of rest. Napoleon offered peace to Francis I. with great sacrifices. He received no answer from his father-in-law. In the evening all the allied armies, increased by the arrival of Bernadotte and the Russian reserves, united. They now stood 300,000 against 130,000 French. On the third day the battle raged from morning to night without intermission. Where Napoleon commanded, the French held their ground to the end. But in the north Marmont and Ney who had to contend against the superior forces of Blücher and Bernadotte, were suddenly crippled by the defection of 10,000 Saxons who in the thick of the fight turned their cannon against their comrades. With the wane of day Napoleon saw his last hopes vanish, and at midnight began his retreat. On the last day when the French were filing through Leipsic the allies stormed the city. The King of Saxony was sent a prisoner to Berlin. The premature blowing up, by mistake, of the Elster bridge, hurled several thousand Frenchmen to a watery grave, among them the gallant Prince Poniatowski, and cut off the retreat of 25,000 men who became prisoners of war. Napoleon, beating back his pursuers on his retreat, crossed the Rhine at Mainz with 70,000 men, the remnants of his great army. He arrived in Paris November 9.

330. Immediate Consequences. — The Illyrian Provinces were conquered and Italy was invaded by Austria. The kingdom of Westphalia and other Napoleonic creations in Germany collapsed, except in a few places where the French garrisons maintained themselves. The Confederacy of the Rhine was dissolved, and its members joined the allies. The Dutch expelled the French officials, Bülow conquered Holland and the House of Orange returned from England. Norway was separated from Denmark, which had preserved its alliance with France, and united with Sweden. This union was the price paid to Bernadotte for joining the Alliance. Murat, King of Naples, surrendered his fleet to England, and promised Austria his co-operation in Italy against Napoleon.

331. The Loss of Spain, 1813. — The withdrawal of a large number of troops, under Marshal Soult, from Spain, in February 1813, had considerably weakened Napoleon's hold on the Peninsula. In June Wellington defeated King Joseph and Jourdan, Soult's successor, in the battle of Vittoria. Joseph fled to France. In July Soult, who had returned with reinforcements, was repulsed by Wellington at the foot of the Pyrenees. After the Spaniards had taken Pampeluna in October, Wellington crossed the frontiers,

defeated Soult on French ground and forced him to retreat to Bayonne. To secure himself against Spain, Napoleon released Ferdinand VII. from his confinement at Valençay, and acknowledged him as King of Spain and the Indies. But the Cortes refused to accept a peace which did not include England. Still pursuing Soult, Wellington, in March, 1814, occupied Bordeaux, the first city that again unfurled the standard of the Bourbons.

Seeley's *Stein.* — J. Mitchell: *The Fall of Napoleon.* — Gleig: *The Leipsic Campaign; Mem. of Prince Metternich.* — J. Philippart: *Campaign in Germany and France, 1813; Marshal Davoust:* E. R. '86, 3. — Camille Rousset: *Souvenirs du Maréchal Macdonald.* — L. de Lanzac de Labourie: *La Domination Française en Belgique, 1795-1814.*

§ 10.

THE FALL OF NAPOLEON.

332. Campaign in France. — The allies offered Napoleon a peace which would have secured the Alps and the Rhine as the boundaries of France. Napoleon rejected the offer and obtained from the Senate a new levy of 300,000 men. Under these circumstances the allies invaded France with 200,000 men. Schwarzenberg and Blücher defeated Napoleon at La Rothier. But when the victors separated to facilitate provisioning, Napoleon with astonishing boldness hurled himself on the forces of Blücher and defeated him in four battles. Then turning like a flash upon the main army under Schwarzenberg he won the two victories of Nangis and Montereau. Again the allies offered peace at Chatillon, but emboldened by his successes Napoleon raised his demands beyond the endurance of the Powers.

333. The Fall of Paris, March. — In the progress of the war, Oudinot and Macdonald were defeated at Bar-sur-Aube, and Napoleon himself at Laon by Blücher, and at Arcis by Schwarzenberg. Whilst the Emperor conceived the plan of throwing himself in the rear of the enemy and raising the populace, the allies marched directly upon Paris. Maria Louisa, the regent, with the Imperial Prince, "the King of Rome," fled to Blois. Marmont and Mortiers, defeated in the neighborhood of the city, threw themselves into the capital which they bravely defended for a few days. But the storm-

ing of Montmartre, the southern outworks of Paris, by the allies, decided the fate of the capital. The marshals capitulated against free departure, and on March 31, the allied monarchs and their armies entered the capital of France.

334. Napoleon's Abdication. — Upon the motion of Talleyrand, who, in the course of a long life, betrayed every cause he had espoused, the Senate decreed that Napoleon and his family had forfeited the throne of France. The fallen Emperor was abandoned by his marshals at Fontainebleau, the last prison of Pius VII. He finally abdicated for himself and his heirs, and received the island of Elba as a sovereign principality and an annual pension of 2,000,000 francs to be paid by France. Maria Louisa, who was never again to see her husband, received the Duchy of Parma. Both retained the Imperial title. Louis XVIII., the brother of Louis XVI., was placed on the throne of France. By his title he recognized the rights of the unfortunate son of his murdered brother. Louis XVIII. concluded with the allies the first Peace of Paris, in which France retained, on the whole, the boundaries of 1792. He then published a Charter which called for a Chamber of Peers appointed by the king, and a Chamber of Deputies chosen by limited suffrage, and which made of France a constitutional monarchy.

335. Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815. — To rearrange European relations, the Congress of Vienna met in September, 1814. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, the Kings of Denmark, Prussia, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, and numerous German princes were present in person. Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, the Powers who had concluded the Peace of Paris, formed a closer union among themselves under the name: Pentarchy of the Great Powers. For special cases Spain, Portugal, Sweden, etc., were also admitted. Distinguished among the representatives were Metternich, of Austria, who presided over the deliberations, Cardinal Consalvi, the representative of the Holy See, Talleyrand, Wellington. But the deliberations were hampered by endless dissensions among the contracting Powers. For a time it looked as if the peacemakers were going to war among themselves over the distribution of the spoils. Russia demanded all Poland, Prussia all Saxony. Against these demands Austria, France, and England concluded a secret alliance. The news of these quarrels and the growing dissatisfaction in France over the new order of things inspired Napoleon with the bold attempt to reclaim his forfeited throne.

336. Napoleon's Return and the Hundred Days. — After a stay of ten months Napoleon left his exile at Elba on the approach of spring, 1815, and landed at Cannes with about 1,000 veterans. His advance towards Paris, unpromising at the start, soon became a triumphal progress. One general after the other sent against him, chief among them Marshal Ney, joined his standard. Louis XVIII. fled to Ghent. Napoleon having regained his empire without shedding a drop of blood re-entered the Tuileries amid the rapturous applause of his adherents.

At once he applied himself to re-establish his power at home and abroad. He sent 17,000 men into the Vendée to check a general insurrection against him led by the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein. In two months he raised 80,000,000 francs. Setting all the foundries at work he filled the arsenals and fortresses, which had been stripped by the allies of 12,000 pieces of cannon, with complete equipments for 220,000 men. His actual force in June numbered 200,000. In the civil organization of the country he only partly succeeded. Substantial citizens declined to take office or seats in the Chamber; factional strife ran high; the new deputies had a will of their own and evinced a strong determination to overrule the Emperor. In one point he failed completely, in his efforts to re-establish diplomatic relations with the Powers. Their representatives at Vienna on March 13 issued a declaration of outlawry against him. The allies still retained nearly a million of men in the field, 700,000 of whom were at once detailed for a second invasion of France. Before the decisive campaign began, Murat, who had again declared for Napoleon, was defeated by the Austrians at Tolentino and fled to France. Ferdinand was reinstated as King of Naples. Appointing his brother Joseph as regent, Napoleon left Paris, June 12, for the Belgian frontier, where he was expected by Blücher and Wellington.

337. Campaign of Waterloo, June 14–18. — The plan of campaign drawn up by Napoleon is universally conceded to be the work of a military genius. But during these four days he was suffering from the recurrence of a malady which at times incapacitated him for physical and mental exertion. Thus several lengthy fits of drowsiness caused a series of delays in the operations of the army which in their aggregate ruined the campaign.

On June 14, Napoleon forced back the Prussians under Ziethen in the engagement of Charleroi. On the 15th Napoleon defeated Blücher at Ligny. It was Napoleon's last victory. Blücher retreated to Wavre. On the 16th Marshal Ney was defeated by the Prince of Orange at Quatre-Bras. Napoleon meanwhile sent Grouchy to engage Blücher at Wavre. There Grouchy fell in with a corps of Thieleman, which, by

a singular mistake, he mistook for the whole Prussian army, whilst Blücher was on his way to join Wellington. Under the impression that he had prevented the union of Wellington and Blücher, Napoleon hurled himself upon Wellington's British and German forces at Waterloo. By the afternoon of the 18th Wellington's troops, though still holding their ground, had suffered so heavily that the day was saved only by Blücher's arrival. The two armies uniting completely defeated, routed, and scattered the army of Napoleon, who withdrew from the battle field in a dazed condition surrounded by a square of his faithful guards.

338. **Napoleon's Last Years — His Character — Second Restoration.** — Napoleon reached Paris June 21st. The Chamber was in an uproar. For the second time Napoleon abdicated, in favor of his son. Wellington and Blücher entered Paris July 7, Napoleon fled to Rochefort and failing in his attempt to embark for America surrendered to the British admiral Hotham. An English man-of-war, in pursuance of the unanimous resolve of the allies, conveyed him to the South Sea Island of Helena. Here he lived, on the whole, in dignified seclusion, writing his memoirs, receiving stray visitors, and returning to the religious practices of his earliest youth. He died after receiving the last sacraments May 5th, 1821.

Napoleon was small in stature and somewhat corpulent, his face square, and his smile uncommonly winning. In spite of his carelessness in dress and a certain awkwardness of bearing, he had a rare power of fascinating those with whom he came into closer contact. The greatness of his fame rests on his military career, his administrative genius, his providence in council and untiring energy in execution, and his almost incredible capacity for work. He was the idol of the army both for his personal intrepidity, which was of the highest order, and for his readiness to reward merit wherever he saw it. In fact, the facility with which he opened splendid careers to talents of every kind, was a chief element of his power. This readiness, however, had its root in the leading trait of his character, intense selfishness. Untruthfulness, duplicity, sovereign contempt for the most solemn obligations, public and private, became habitual with him. His bulletins from the seats of war were filled with exaggerations and falsehoods. "To lie like a bulletin," became a popular proverb. He could be petty, mean, fawning, or haughty, cruel, ferocious, as his self-interest required it. Whilst sensitive to individual misery, he was careless of human suffering at large and reckless of slaughter. This selfishness made him a despot at home and a conqueror abroad whose aim was universal domination. All the world, including his royal brothers, were to be the slaves of military France, and France, the slave of her Emperor.

The same unbounded selfishness guided him in his dealings with the

Church, her dignitaries and laws; they had to bend to his will, to serve his interests or to break in his grip. It was only when an overruling Providence had sent him to a solitary rock in mid-ocean, that he was once more drawn to the religion which he had so bitterly persecuted.

Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne. In the second Peace of Paris (Nov. 20), France was reduced to the boundaries of 1790, had to pay a war indemnity of 700,000,000 francs and to restore the art treasures amassed in Paris from almost every country of Europe. Murat, who made a reckless attempt to recover his kingdom by landing in Calabria, was court-martialed and shot. The fugitive Marshal Ney was captured in the south of France and executed December 7.

Campbell: *Nap. at Fontainebleau and Elba.* — Lamartine: *Hist. of the Restoration.* — G. Hooper: *Waterloo.* — Gardner: *Quatre-Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo.* — W. Siborne: *Hist. of the War in France and Belgium, 1815.* — Gleig: *Story of the B. of Waterloo.* — W. O'C. Morris: *The Campaign of 1815.* — Also E. H. R., 10, 1.—Ropes: *The Campaign of Waterloo.* — Wolseley: *Decline and Fall of N.* — Guizot: *Memoirs of My Time.* — *Mem. of Prince Talleyrand.* — *Lives of Talleyrand* by Blennerhasset; Clarke; McHarg. — Ct. de las Casas: *Life, Exile, and Conversations of Nap.* — Montholon; W. Forsyth: *Hist. of the Captivity of Nap.*— *Nap. Memoirs,* dictated at St. Helena.— R. C. Seaton: *Sir Hudson Lowe and Napoleon.* — E. B. O'Meara: *Nap. in Exile.* — Imbert de St. Amand: *Marie Louise; The Invasion of 1814; The Island of Elba; The Hundred Days.* — Henri Welchinger: *Le Roi de Rome, 1811-1832.*

§ 11.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION.

339. Washington and the Revolution.—The French Revolution was at first hailed with delight by all parties in the United States. When, however, the anarchical elements in France grew daily bolder, the Federalists began to turn away. The Republicans (Democrats), on the contrary, the successors of the Anti-Federalists under the leadership of Jefferson, clung more closely to the French Revolution and revived the old calumny as to the "monarchical" tendencies of the Federalists. Washington with a firm hand prevented the young Republic becoming entangled with the French Terrorists, and issued April 22, 1793, his celebrated Proclamation of Neutrality, notwithstanding the violent rage of the Republican press against the measure. About the same time "citizen Genet," the representative of the French Convention, appeared on our shores. From the first, Genet assumed the character of a master. The United States was to be an ally of France. He formally called upon the Republicans to oppose the administration under *his* leadership even though Wash-

ington was at the head of it. He made use of American harbors to fit out privateers against England. He declared that the United States were bound by the former treaties with France. The administration answered that it was not bound by an agreement with a government which the Revolution had overthrown, and maintained its neutrality. Washington demanded the recall of Genet and concluded a treaty with England in 1795 which secured to America the long desired evacuation of the Northwestern posts by the English. But these two measures increased the tension between France and America. Whilst the difficulty was still pending, Washington's second term approached its close and he established a precedent for the future by refusing a third term though it was offered him by all parties. It is one of the great merits of his administration that he saved the United States from complicity in the French Revolution. The difficulty with France came to a head under the administration of the Federalist, John Adams (1797–1801). During the latter half of 1798, a state of war without a declaration of war existed between the United States and the French Directory. Whilst the Directory ordered the seizure of American cargoes, Congress formally abolished the treaties with France, formed an army and increased the navy. Napoleon Bonaparte, as First Consul, restored in 1799 the friendly relations between the two countries.

340. The Louisiana Purchase. — Spain in 1800 ceded the whole of Louisiana to France. Jefferson well understood the dangers threatening the Union if the mouth of the Mississippi were to remain in the hands of a foreign Power. His negotiations with Napoleon, begun in 1801, came the following year to a successful issue. Napoleon ceded the whole of Louisiana to the United States for $15,000,000.

341. Causes of the War of 1812. — Owing to the war between Napoleon and England, the merchant flag of almost every belligerent save England disappeared from the sea, and since 1803 the carrying trade of Europe was, for a time, in American hands. The products of the French colonies were conveyed in American vessels to the United States, and then shipped to France as American property. England grew jealous of this thriving trade. She had not yet recognized the principles of the Armed Neutrality of 1780. Accordingly American ships were seized on the high seas and condemned for carrying enemy's goods. Moreover the growth of American shipping

had stimulated desertions from the British service, and these desertions led to the vigorous exercise of the right of search and imprisonment which was extended even to American waters. Although almost every deserter carried papers of American citizenship, yet England held that the allegiance of her subjects could not be transferred, and that American naturalization was worthless. Thus grievances accumulated on either side.

342. Embargo and Non-intervention. — By his Berlin Decree, in November, 1806, Napoleon prohibited the introduction into France and her dependencies of British goods whether in her own ships or *those of other nations*. England retorted by an Order in Council, forbidding any trade in neutral vessels, unless they had first paid duties on their cargoes in some British port. Thereupon Napoleon, in his Milan Decree, declared every vessel a lawful prize that submitted to the English demands. These proceedings placed America between two fires and well-nigh destroyed her trade. Unwilling to go to war, Jefferson experimented with retaliatory measures. First he gave his sanction to a law which proposed to defend our harbors with some worthless gunboats. Then in 1807 he signed the Embargo Act which forbade all American vessels to leave American ports. He had hoped the act would bring the European Powers to terms, but it resulted only in offending England and France without doing them any perceptible harm. The chief sufferers were the Americans themselves. Accordingly the act was repealed in 1809, and replaced by the Non-intercourse Act, which simply forbade trade with England and France. The law authorized the President to suspend this prohibition in favor of Great Britain or of France, as soon as the one or the other should desist from violating neutral rights.

343. Outbreak of the War. — The whole situation was changed when Napoleon in August, 1810, announced his intention to revoke on November 1 the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, if either England rescinded her Orders in Council, or "The United States caused their rights to be respected by England." The announcement was a farce from the beginning, but the Americans took it in all seriousness. "To cause American rights to be respected," the government of Madison (1809–1817) withdrew the name of France from the Non-intercourse Act, and permanently broke off all trade with England. This measure barred the door against any peaceful settlement with England. Popular agitation kept alive by Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun and others, a new school of young Republican leaders, called for war with England. It was declared by Congress June 18, although the United States had not more than eighteen ships to send against England's magnificent fleet of 1,000 sail.

344. The Lake Erie Campaign. — The war opened disastrously for the United States, by the surrender of Detroit and Michigan, 1812. To relieve this disaster, General Harrison, who had ended an Indian war in the Northwest by his victory on the Tippecanoe river (1811) was appointed commander-in-chief of the Western army. The splendid co-operation of an American flotilla on Lake Erie under Captain Oliver H. Perry opened Detroit to General Harrison. Perry defeated Barclay's English squadron off Put-in-Bay island, and, reinforced by the captured ships, conveyed Harrison's troops from the American to the Canada side. In a number of successful engagements the Americans regained possession of Detroit and the whole of Michigan and added to it a portion of Western Canada.

An attempt to invade Canada in 1812 — two abortive invasions (burning of Toronto and temporary capture of Fort George) which caused the Canadians to retaliate by the devastation of the Niagara frontier and the burning of Buffalo in 1813 — the successful defense of Fort Erie, held by the Americans, and young Macdonough's naval victory on Lake Champlain in 1814, constitute the history of the campaign on the New York borders.

345. At Sea. — While the army on the frontier was accomplishing little, the warships were winning victory after victory at sea. The ships built for the American navy were the best of their class. Most of the officers, carefully selected, had received an excellent training in Preble's squadron before Tripoli, when the United States waged war with the pirates of the Barbary coast, and gained the freedom of the Mediterranean (1801–1805). The losses which the navy suffered were caused by superior forces; only three ships were lost in an equal fight. But the unprecedented number of American victories at sea in 1812 and 13 caused a great excitement in England, and in Europe generally. The British began to be cautious; instead of seeking open conflicts, they reinforced their blockading squadron on the Chesapeake, and in 1814 declared a blockade of the whole Atlantic coast. Regular squadrons were detailed to keep a single American frigate cooped up in some port, whilst others landed raiding parties and captured a few coast towns.

346. Destruction of Washington. — In July, 1814, an expedition carrying 4,000 veterans of Wellington's army under Ross arrived from Bermuda in the Chesapeake Bay. They landed in

Maryland and having routed 5,000 hastily collected militia and volunteers they marched upon Washington, which was then a straggling village of about 2,000 inhabitants, and since 1800 the national capital. They burnt the capitol with its documents and congressional library as well as other buildings, public and private, and then withdrew to their ships. On a second landing they sacked Alexandria. General Ross fell shortly after in an unsuccessful attempt to capture Baltimore.

347. Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815. — When the allies had compelled Napoleon to retire to the island of Elba, England sent fresh forces to America. An army of 12,000 of Wellington's veterans was secretly dispatched to New Orleans. The defense was intrusted to General Jackson, fresh from his first campaign against the Indians of the Mississippi valley (Creek War, 1813–14). Pakenham's English army crept up almost unopposed but not unobserved to Jackson's lines in the neighborhood of New Orleans. The Americans stood 5,000, of whom less than 1,000 were regulars, against 10,000 assailants. Pakenham's attempt to storm Jackson's entrenchment resulted in a bloody defeat. Pakenham, two other generals, 2,600 men fell on the British side, while the Americans had only eight killed and thirteen wounded. Lambert, the only remaining general, retreated hastily and abandoned the expedition. A few days later the news arrived that peace had been signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814.

348. The Peace of Ghent. — The Treaty of Ghent provided for Commissions to run the boundaries as determined by previous treaties. The treaty ignored the causes of the war. But Great Britain tacitly withdrew from her opposition to the principles of maritime neutrality, allowed her Orders in Council to lapse and never again advanced the claim of search and impressment against the United States.

Histories of the U. S. — Lives of Washington, Ch. 8, § 2.—*McMaster's History of the People of the U. St.*, v. II.-IV.—Von Holst: *Constit. and Polit. Hist. of the U. St.*, v. 1 — L. Rosenthal: *America and France.*— H. Adams: *Hist. of the U. St.* (Adm. of Jefferson and Adams). — Maclay: *Hist. of the U. St. Navy.* — Roosevelt: *Naval War of 1812.* — R. Johnson: *Hist. of the War of 1812-15.* — Soley: *The Wars of the U. S.* (Narrat. and Critic. Hist.)— Williams: *Invasion and Capture of Washington.* — Walker: *Jackson and New Orleans.* — Gleig: *Campaigns of the Brit. Army at Wash. and N. Orl.*— Stanley Lane-Poole: *The Barbary Corsairs* (Story of Nations Series).

§ 12.

ACTS OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

349. Spirit of the Congress — The principles which guided the deliberations at Vienna did not differ much from the policy of the Revolution or of Napoleon. The governments that prided themselves in their legitimacy respected neither historical rights, nor the just demands of the patriotic people, who had voluntarily taken up arms to free the fatherland. The Catholic Church in Germany obtained no justice or restitution for the gigantic robbery committed in 1803. All that Cardinal Consalvi in the name of Pius VII. could do was to enter before Congress a solemn protest against this injustice.

350. The German Confederacy. — The Holy Roman Empire was replaced by a loose Confederacy which secured the semblance of unity, but allowed almost complete independence to the separate States. It numbered thirty-eight members, among them the Emperor of Austria for his German provinces, the Kings of Prussia, of Hanover, of Saxony, who retained Dresden and about half of his dominions, of Bavaria, of Würtemberg; a number of minor sovereign princes, and the free cities of Frankfort, Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen. Denmark voted in the Diet for Holstein, etc., and the Netherlands for Limburg and Luxemburg. The leadership naturally fell to Austria.

351. Austria. — Austria recovered her Italian possessions, the kingdoms of Dalmatia and Illyria, Salzburg, the Tyrol, and Galicia.

352. Russia. — Russia obtained the greater part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw as the Kingdom of Poland, of which Alexander became the King, giving it a Constitution. Cracow was made a free State under the protection of the three conterminous Powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

353. Prussia. — Prussia received its former possessions in Westphalia and new territories on the left bank of the Rhine, the greater part of Saxony and the smaller part of Warsaw with the city of Danzig. Adding to these larger tracts a number of minor territories obtained in the way of exchange, Prussia was restored to a somewhat smaller area but a larger population than it had possessed in 1805, whilst its influence increased by the new possessions beyond the Rhine which brought her in contact with France.

354. England. — England retained Malta, Heligoland, which it had taken from the Danes, a portion of the French and Dutch colonies, and the protectorate over the seven Ionian islands.

355. Other States. — In Spain the Bourbon dynasty was restored in the person of Ferdinand VII. The former Republic of Holland (minus East Friesland, which went to Hanover), and the Austrian Netherlands, though conflicting in religion, language, character and material interests, were united into the one kingdom of the Netherlands under the Stadtholder of the House of Orange as King William I. Sweden retained Norway with a constitution of its own. By the accession of Geneva, Wallis, and Neufchatel (the latter under Prussian suzerainty), Switzerland was increased to 22 Cantons, each enjoying home rule, and was declared permanently neutral.

356. The Arrangements in Italy. — The arrangements made concerning Italy (with the exception of Rome and Genoa) were more in accordance with justice and long-standing treaties than those in the northern countries. The States of the Church were restored with two exceptions. The river Po was made the boundary between the States of the Church and Austria, which gave a few square miles of Papal territory to Austria; the territories of Avignon and Venaissin were assigned to France. Austria was also allowed the right of garrison in Ferrara and Commachio on the plea of self-defense. Victor Emmanuel I., king of Sardinia, was restored to his kingdom of Savoy and Piedmont, to which was added — much to the disgust of the Genoese — the Republic of Genoa as a Duchy. Ferdinand IV. of Naples, after the defeat of Murat and the close of the Congress, was placed over his former possessions under the title of Ferdinand I., King of the two Sicilies.

The Duchy of Parma was conferred for life on the ex-Empress Maria Louisa. No State was assigned to the Imperial Prince, but he received private estates in Bohemia and the title of Duke of Reichstadt. Tuscany was restored to its Grand Duke Ferdinand of Austria, and Modena to Archduke Francis, the heir of the House of Este.

357. The Position of Austria in Italy. — Austria obtained in the Congress Lombardy and Venetia under the title of the Lombardo-

Venetian Kingdom. Independently of the Congress Metternich concluded private treaties with the members of the younger side-lines of Austria in Tuscany and Modena for mutual defense, and an engagement of very questionable wisdom with the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, by which Victor Emmanuel and Ferdinand I. pledged themselves to do nothing in their respective kingdoms contrary to the political system adopted by Austria in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom. These arrangements gave Austria a pre-eminence in Italy.

The arrangements of the Congress of Vienna were approved at the time by the vast majority of the Italians themselves. When Murat in March, 1815, unfurled his flag against Austria and invaded central Italy with 40,000 men to form a kingdom of United Italy, he found no aid or encouragement among the inhabitants. The restored sovereigns were hailed with joy and pleasure by the people. Later, however, the preponderance of Austria gave rise and color to the war cry of the Italian Revolutionists: War to the Foreigners!

358. The Holy Alliance. — Upon the suggestion of Alexander I., the Holy Alliance was founded in September, 1815. It was theoretically an intimate union on a basis of Christian morality and religion, inspired by the tremendous events of the late years, and comprising at first Russia, Austria, Prussia, later also France. The Holy See and England refused to join this alliance. Pius VII. expected nothing from a semi-religious league whose members were so widely apart in their religious principles, and in fact, the non-Catholic members continued to persecute and oppress the Church, as they had done before. The union very soon degenerated into a military machine for the protection of dynastic interests and monarchical absolutism. The Decrees of Vienna regulated for the next forty years the relations of the European States.

E. Hertslet: *The Map of Europe by Treaty. — Corresp. of Prince Talleyrand with Louis XVIII. during the Congress of Vienna. — Metternich's Memoirs. — Arrangements for Italy:* — Chev. O'Clery, ch. 2, pp. 94–109.

General Works for the Period. — Alison: *History of Europe, 1789–1815. — Epitome of Alison's Hist.* — Walter Scott: *Life of Napoleon.* — Thiers: *Hist. of the Consulate and Empire.* — Morris: *The French Revol. and the First Empire.* — H. Martin: *Popular Hist. of France fr. the First Revol.* — Seeley: *Short Hist. of Nap.* — W. O'Morris: *Napoleon.* — J. C. Ropes: *The First Napoleon.* — Headly: *Napoleon and His Marshals.* — Other Lives by Horne, Jomini; Masson (*N. at Home*); Sloane. — H. Morse Stephens: *Europe, 1789–1815.* — J. H. Rose: *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era, 1789–1815.* (Cambridge Hist. Series). — Captain A. T. Mahan: *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revol. and Empire.*

THE FAMILY OF BONAPARTE.

Charles de Bonaparte, m. Maria Laetitia Ramolini, d. at Rome, 1836.

JOSEPH, King of Naples, 1806. King of Spain, 1808–1813, d. 1844.

NAPOLEON I., First Consul, 1799–1804. EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH. 1804–1814 (1815), d. at St. Helena, 1821.

Lucien, Prince of Canino.

Elise, Princess of Piombino.

LOUIS, King of Holland, m. *Hortense*, daughter of Josephine.

Pauline, Princess of Borghese.

Caroline, m. Murat, King of Naples.

JEROME, King of Westphalia. (1) Miss Patterson, (2) Princess of Würtemberg.

Napoleon, d. 1891.

Napoleon.

Napoleon's 1st Wife. *Josephine Beauharnais.*

2d Wife: *Maria Louisa, of Austria.*

Eugene, Viceroy of Italy. Napoleon's step-children.

Hortense, m. Louis, K. of Holland.

Napoleon II., King of Rome, d as *Duke of Reichstadt.* Napoleon's own child.

Louis, Grand Duke of Berg and Cleve, d. 1831.

Charles Louis, since 1831, **LOUIS NAPOLEON**, since 1852. **NAPOLEON III.**, m. **EUGENIE** Montijo, Countess of Teba.

Louis Napoleon (Prince Imperial), d. 1879, in Africa.

THE WARS OF REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE, 1792–1815.

Preliminary steps towards the *First Coalition* against France. *Declaration of Pillnitz: Leopold II.* and *Frederic William II.* declare their willingness to interfere in favor of Louis XVI., Aug., 1791. Alliance between *Austria* and *Prussia*, Feb., 1792. Declaration of War by the *Legsl. Assembly* ag. the Allies, April 20.

I. **WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE FIRST COALITION**, comprising *Austria*, *Prussia*, *Sardinia* (*Victor Amadeus III.*), the *Empire*, *Great Britain*, *Holland* (*William V.*), *Spain*, and *Portugal* (*Maria Francisca*), 1792–1797.

Campaigns.	*Battles, etc.*	*Victory of*	*Treaties and Territorial Changes.*
1. The first armies (under *Rochambeau*, *Lafayette*, *Luckner*) forming a semi-circle from Dunkirk to Basel, suffered reverses.			1. Forcible annexation of *Avignon* and the *Venaissin* to France, 1791.
2. The Austrians concentrated 80,000 men on the Rhine and advanced into France.	*Battle of Valmy*, Sept. 20.	*Dumouriez* and *Kellerman* over *Duke of Brunswick.*	2. Breaking up of the First Coalition, 1795. *Holland* changed into the *Batavian Republic*, surrendered Dutch *Flanders* to France, 1795.
3. Conquest of *Savoy* and *Nice* by the French revolutionary army, Sept., 1792.			3. *Tuscany* left the Alliance and made peace with France.
4. The French advance across the Rhine.	*Speier*, *Worms*, *Mainz*, *Frankfort* taken by	General *Custine.*	4. *Peace of Basel*, April, 1795, between the Convention, Prussia, and a few States of N. Germany.
5. Conquest of the *Austrian Netherlands.* Annexation of Savoy and Nice (1792) and of Belgium, 1793.	*B. of Jemappes.* Capture of *Brussels.* *Frankfort* retaken by	*Dumouriez* over the Allies. The *Prussians.*	*Open clauses:* (1) Conditional cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France. (2) Neutrality of Northern Germany. *Secret clause:* Absolute cession of the left bank of the Rhine for a promised indemnification (Bishopric of Münster.)

II. **CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE**, 1793.

1. Rising of the principal cities against the Convention and the local Jacobins after the Coup d'etat of June 2.	*Caen*, *Bordeaux*, *Marseilles* (Aug.), *Lyons* (Nov.). *Toulon*, also occupied by the English.	cannonaded into submission by *Colonel Napoleon Bonaparte.*	5. **PEACE OF BASEL** between the Convention and Spain (*Godoy* "Prince of Peace"), Aug., 1795.

2. Rising of the Catholics inthe *Vendée* in defense of their religion under the leadership of *Charette, Roche-jaquelein, Stofflet, Cathelineau*, Febr., 1793.	First movement of Vendeans successful.	Republicans over Vendeans.
3. *Turreau's* attempt to exterminate the Vendeans rekindled the war, 1794–96. It spread to *Normandy, Brittany, Maine*, etc. Royalists and Emigrants (Chouans) assisted by the English (Quiberon, 1795).	*Chollet* (Oct.). *Le Mans.* followed by frightful massacres of men, women, and children.	Republicans over Vendeans. *Carrier.* *Turreau.*
FOREIGN WAR CONTINUED, 1793–95.		The Chouan insurrection suppressed by Gen. Hoche, 1795.
1. Advance of the Allies in Germany, Belgium, and France. The Austrian Netherlands reconquered, 1793.	*Battle of Neerwinden.*	*Duke of Coburg* and *Archd. Charles* over Dumouriez.
2. General advance of the new Republican armies (levied in Aug.), (a) against the *Austrians* and *Sardinians* in the Alps; (b) ag. the *Spaniards* in the Pyrenees; (c) against the *Austrians* and *Prussians* who were forced to recross the Rhine; (d) into *Belgium;* (e) into *Holland*, **BATAVIAN REPUBLIC**, 1795–1806.	Brussels reconquered by Mainz reconquered by Capture of Condé and Valenciennne.	the Allies. the Prussians. Allies over Custine (executed).
3. The English captured the French and Dutch colonies.	Battles around the French lines at *Weissenburg.* *Fleurus*, June, 1794. Holland conquered 1794–95	*Jourdan* over *D. of Coburg.* By Gen. *Pichegru.*
		(1) Cession of Spanish *San Domingo* to France. (2) Restoration of all other conquests to Spain. The following year France and Spain concluded an offensive and defensive alliance against *England.*
		6. **PEACE BETWEEN THE DIRECTORY AND SARDINIA,** *Victor Amadeus* ceded *Savoy* and *Nice*, and admitted French garrisons into the Piedm. fortresses, 1796.
		7. *Truce* with the *Dukes of Parma* and *Modena*, and with the *Pope*, 1796.
		8. **PEACE OF TOLENTINO**, 1797. *PIUS VI.* ceded *Avignon*, the *Romagna, Bologna*, and *Ferrara.*
		9. *Preliminary Peace of Leoben* with Austria.
		10. **PEACE OF CAMPO FORMIO**, Oct. 17, 1797.

THE WARS OF REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE, 1792-1815. — *Continued.*

THE DIRECTORY AT WAR WITH THE REST OF THE COALITION.			
1. In **GERMANY.** Invasion of *Franconia* by *Jourdan* and of *Suabia* and *Bavaria* by *Moreau*, 1796. Moreau forced to retreat to the Upper Rhine.	*Amberg* (Aug.). *Würzburg* (Sept.)	*Archd. Charles* over *Jourdan.* *Archd. Charles* over *Jourdan.*	(1) *Austria* ceded *Belgium* to *France.* (2) A *Congress at Rastadt* was to settle the peace with the Empire. (3) Austria recognized the *Cisalpine Republic.* (4) Austria obtained *Venice*, *Istria*, and *Dalmatia*, whilst France retained the *Ionian Islands.*
2. Brilliant campaign of **BONAPARTE** against the *Austrians* in **ITALY.** Conquest of *Lombardy*, invasion of Parma, Modena, and Papal States, siege and fall of *Mantua*, 1796-97; Bonaparte crosses the Alps into Austria, 1797.	*Millesimo* (April). *Mondovi* (May). *Lodi* (storming of Adda bridge (May). *Arcole*, Nov.	*Bonaparte* over Austrians. *Bonaparte* over Piedmontese. *Bonaparte* over Austrians. *Bonaparte* over Austrians.	*Secret articles:* (1) Austria agreed to the cession of the left bank of the Upper Rhine, including Mainz, to France. (2) The Rhine was to be open to France and Germany. (3) Princes who lost by these changes were to be indemnified by the confiscation of ecclesiastical territories in Germany.
3. *Venice* and the *Ionian Islands* revolutionized and occupied by French troops. Milan, Modena, and the ceded Papal provinces changed into the **CISALPINE REPUBLIC**, Genoa into the **LIGURIAN REPUBLIC.**			
4. Occupation of **ROME**, and captivity of **PIUS VI.** The **ROMAN REPUBLIC.** The **HELVETIAN REPUBLIC.** Geneva annexed, 1798.			The Congress of Rastadt was interrupted by the Second Coalition.
5. Bonaparte's campaign in **EGYPT AND SYRIA**, to destroy English commerce. War declared by *Turkey*. After Bonaparte's departure *Kléber* and *Desaix*, and	Occupation of *Malta*, 1798. Capture of *Alexandria*, 1798. Battle of the *Pyramids.* **BATTLE OF THE NILE AT ABOUKIR.**	*Bonaparte* over *Mamelukes.* *Nelson* destroys French fleet.	

since 1800, Menou, continued the campaign. The latter was forced by the English to return Egypt to Turkey, and to disembark with his army to France on an English fleet.	*Mount Tabor*, 1798. Land battle at **ABOUKIR**, 1799.	Bonaparte over Turks. Bonaparte over Turks.

III. WAR OF THE SECOND COALITION, 1799–1801.

Causes.—1. The rapid extension of French conquests; in 1798, a Neapolitan invasion of the Roman Republic had been repulsed by the French, and Naples itself occupied and changed into the **PARTHENOPAEAN REPUBLIC.**

2. The successful work of the Czar, *Paul I.*, elected *Grand Master of Malta*, in forming the Second Coalition: *Russia*, *Austria*, *England*, *Portugal*, *Naples*, *Turkey*, against *France* and *Spain*.

Campaigns.	*Battles, etc.*	*Victory* of
1799.		
1. Archduke Charles victorious in Germany and Switzerland.	*Ostrach* and *Stockach.* (March.) *Zürich.* (June.)	*Archd. Charles* over *Jourdan.* *Archd. Charles* over *Massena.*
2. The Austrian **MELAS** and the Russian **SUWAROW** victorious in Italy. Abolition of the Cisalpine Republic. Kingdom of Naples and Papal States restored.	*Zürich.* *Cassano.* (April.) *On the Trebbia.* **NOVI.** (Aug.)	*Massena* over *Korsakow.* *Melas* and *Suwarow* over *Moreau.* *Suwarow* over *Macdonald.* *Melas* and *Suw.* over *Joubert.*
3. In the *Netherlands.* Defeat and capitulation of the Duke of York.	**ALKMAR.** (Oct.)	*Brune* over *Duke of York.*
4. Conquest of the *Ionian Islands* by a Russo-Turkish fleet. *Republic of the Ionian Islands*		

PEACE OF LUNÉVILLE, Feb. 9, 1801.

1. The Emperor recognized the *Batavian*, *Helvetian*, *Cisalpine*, and *Ligurian* Republics.
2. *The Adige*, the boundary between Austria and the Ital. Republics.
   The Rhine, the boundary between Austria and France.
3. *Tuscany* yielded as *Kgd. of Etruria* to the *Prince of Parma*, husband of the *Infanta of Spain.* Spain in turn ceded **LOUISIANA** to *France* (sold to the U. S. 1803).
4. The Princes who lost by the Peace were indemnified by the secularization of the Catholic estates (bishoprics and abbeys) and by the annexation of 42 free cities. **DISMEMBERMENT OF GERMANY.**

PEACE OF FLORENCE with *Naples*, March 18, 1801.

1. The King had to close his ports to England.

THE WARS OF REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE, 1792-1815.— *Continued.*

under Russo-Turkish protection. Campaigns of 1800.			2. To cede his Tuscan coast line and islands to the *Kgd. of Etruria.* 3. To maintain 15,000 French at Tarento.
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, First Consul, in the field.			
1. Campaign in Italy. Napoleon crossing the *Great St. Bernard.*	Capture of *Nice* and *Genoa.*	*Melas* over *Massena.*	**PEACE OF AMIENS** with *England*, March 27, 1801. 1. Restoration of the French and Dutch colonies to France (except *Trinidad* and *Ceylon*). 2. Egypt restored to Turkey. 3. *Malta* restored to the *Knights of St. John.* 4. *Portugal's* integrity restored.
	MARENGO.	*Napoleon* (*Desaix*) over *Melas.*	
2. Campaign in *Germany.* 3. *Portugal* occupied by French troops.	**HOHENLINDEN.**	*Moreau* over *Archd. John.*	

NAPOLEON'S MARCH TO THE THRONE.

1. Concordat with Pius VII., 1801.
2. Great administrative reforms; University; Legion of Honor.
3. Napoleon Consul for life under a new, the **FIFTH CONSTITUTION**, which enlarged the powers of the Senate, and restricted those of the Corps Legislatif, 1802.
4. Removal of opponents: *Moreau's* republican army sent to *San Domingo;* deportation of Terrorists; execution of Cadoudal and other Chouan leaders; *Pichegru* found strangled in prison; *Moreau* banished; murder of the *Duc d'Enghien.*
5. Consul Bonaparte proclaimed **HEREDITARY EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH** by the Tribunate and the Senate, May 10, 1804, consecrated by *Pius VII.*, and self-crowned, Dec. 2, 1804; self-crowned *King of Italy*, 1805 (*Eugene Beauharnais*, viceroy).

IV. WAR OF THE THIRD COALITION AGAINST FRANCE, 1805.

Causes. — 1. England's refusal to surrender *Malta.*
2. Colonial war against France renewed by England.
3. Interference of Napoleon in Switzerland.
4. Occupation of *Hanover* and *Naples* by French troops.
5. Napoleon's great military encampment at *Boulogne.*

Belligerents. — Third Coalition, negotiated by Pitt: *England, Russia, Austria, Sweden*, against *France, Spain, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden*, etc. *Prussia* secretly allied with *Russia.*

Campaigns.	*Battles.*	*Victory of*	*Treaties.*
Napoleon's Campaign on the Danube.	Surrender of **ULM.**	*Napoleon* over *Mack.*	**TREATY OF SCHOENBRUNN** (near Vienna) between *Napoleon* and *Prussia.* The King of Prussia allied himself with Napoleon, obtained *Hanover* and ceded a few districts to Bavaria and to France.
	Surrender of **VIENNA**		
Naval Campaign.	**TRAFALGAR.**	to *Murat.* **NELSON** over French and Spanish fleet. (Nelson's death.)	**PEACE OF PRESSBURG,** Dec. 26, 1805. Austria ceded *Venice, Istria,* and *Dalmatia* to the *Kingdom of Italy;* the *Tyrol, Augsburg,* etc., to *Bavaria;* her *Suabian* possessions to *Würtemberg* and *Baden,* and obtained the territory of *Salzburg.* No peace with Russia and England.
Decisive Campaign.	**AUSTERLITZ.** Battle of the Three Emperors.	*Nap.* over *Francis II.* and *Alexander I.*	

New Napoleonic rulers: **BAVARIA** and **WÜRTEMBERG** raised to **KINGDOMS,** 1806; *Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples; Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland; Murat,* Grand Duke of *Berg.* **CONFEDERACY OF THE RHINE.** End of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Francis II., henceforth **FRANCIS I., EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.**

V. WAR OF NAPOLEON WITH PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA, 1806–1807.

Causes. — 1. The establishment of the Confederacy of the Rhine.
2. Napoleon ordered German towns to be seized by Murat or garrisoned with French troops.
3. Prevented the formation of Northern Confederacy under Prussia.
4. Offered the restoration of *Hanover* to England in exchange for *Sicily.*
5. Seizure and execution of *Palm.*
6. Invasion of Germany by Napoleon — Saxony first allied with Prussia, later with Napoleon.

1. Napoleon's campaign on the *Saale* against Prussia, 1806.	*Saalfeld* (Oct. 10).	Prince *Ludwig Ferdinand* defeated and killed.	**CONTINENTAL SYSTEM:** *Berlin* Decree, Nov., 1806; *Milan* Decree, Dec., 1807. Meeting and Reconciliation of **NAPOLEON** and **ALEXANDER I.** at *Tilsit.* Agreement to a division of Europe.
2. Rapid fall of the Prussian and Silesian fortresses, 1806-7.	**JENA AND AUERSTÄDT** (Oct. 14).	*Napoleon* (*Murat*) over *D. of Brunswick.*	**PEACE OF TILSIT,** 1807, between **FRANCE AND RUSSIA,** July 7.

THE WARS OF REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE, 1792-1815.— *Continued.*

3. Napoleon's campaign against the Russians (and Prussians).	Battles around *Pultusk.* **EYLAU.** *Fall of Danzig.* **FRIEDLAND** (on the Aller.)	Drawn battle. *Napoleon* over *Benningsen.*	1. The *eastern* cessions of Prussia (save a part of New East Prussia which was ceded to Alexander) was erected into the **DUCHY OF WARSAW** under the Elector, now *King of Saxony*, and thus recognized by *Alexander I.* 2. Danzig a free city of the Duchy of Warsaw. 3. Alexander recognized the Napoleonic Kingdoms

and the Confederacy of the Rhine, now including all the German states exc. Austria, Prussia, and Danish Germany.

4. In a secret treaty Russia ceded the *Ionian Islands* to France, and entered into an alliance with *Napoleon* against *England.*

PEACE OF TILSIT BETWEEN FRANCE AND PRUSSIA, July 9.

1. *Prussia* ceded the new Duchy of *Warsaw* to *Saxony;*
2. All the lands between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe* to Napoleon for free disposal.
3. Joined the Continental System.
4. Reduced the standing army to 42,000 men. The *western* cessions of Prussia were formed into the **KINGDOM OF WESTPHALIA** under *Jerome Bonaparte.*

VI. THE PENINSULAR WAR (1807–1814), and *Contemporary Changes in Europe.*

Causes.—1. The refusal of *Portugal* to join the Continental System. Flight of the *House of Braganza.*
2. The Partition treaty of *Fontainebleau* between Napoleon and *Godoy* (the Prince of Peace).
3. The family revolution in the Royal House of Spain.
4. The forced abdication of *Charles IV.* and *Ferdinand VII.* at *Bayonne.*
5. The occupation of Spanish fortresses by French troops in time of peace.
6. The appointment of *Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain.*

1. Occupation of *Portugal* by Junot, 1807. 2. Expulsion of the French by the English, 1808. 3. Patriotic rising of the Spaniards. 4. Invasion of Spain by **NAPOLEON**, 1808–9.	*Vimiero;* surrender of *Cintra.* *Baylon.* Defense of *Saragossa.* *Tudela.* Conquest of *Madrid.*	*Sir Arthur Wellesley* (*Wellington*) over *Junot.* The Patriots over *Dupont*, *José Palafox.* *Napoleon* over *Spanish center.*	Changes in other States. 1. Denmark allied herself with Napoleon, because an English fleet had bombarded Copenhagen and carried off the Danish fleet. 2. Russia, according to the agreement of Tilsit, declared war against England, and occupied Finland.

5. Expulsion of the English from Spain, 1809. 6. Return of the English after Napoleon's departure, 1809. 7. Guerilla warfare.	*Corunna.* Fall of *Saragossa.*	*Soult* and *Sir John Moore.* (Moore's death.)	3. The Kingdom of Etruria was occupied by Eugene the Viceroy, because Leghorn had admitted English ships. 4. Murat became King of Naples, when Joseph was called to Spain. 5. Prussia reorganized her civil and military administration, and Austria prepared for war.

VII. THE WAR WITH AUSTRIA, 1809.

Causes.—1. Austria, encouraged by the Spanish rising, hoped to be able to reconquer her lost possessions.
2. The perilous position of Austria since the Franco Russian alliance.
3. The popular exasperation against Napoleon in Germany and Austria. Austria declared war April 6, 1809, before being fully prepared.

1. Napoleon in a five day's campaign on the *Upper Danube* drove the main army of the Austrians across the river into Bohemia. After capturing *Vienna*, he occupied the Danube island of *Lobau* and crossed to the left bank.	*Abensberg*, *Landshut*, **ECKMÜHL**, *Regensburg* (April 19–23). Capitulation of *Vienna* (May 11).	*Napoleon* and his generals over the Austrians under *Archd. Charles.*	**PEACE OF VIENNA,** Oct. 14, 1809, concluded on the basis of population. Austria ceded a population of 1,500,000 on the frontiers of *Italy* and *Dalmatia* to Napoleon, and a population of 2,000,000 to *Saxony* and *Russia;* the lion's share being awarded to Saxony.
2. From Italy, Eugene the Viceroy drove Archd. John into Hungary, and joined Napoleon at Vienna.	**ASPERN AND ESSLING.** *On the Raab.*	*Napoleon's* first defeat by **ARCHD. CHARLES.** Viceroy *Eugene* over *Archd. John.*	The lands ceded to Napoleon, together with the Ionian islands, were formed into the **ILLYRIAN PROVINCES** under *Marmont* as *Duke of Ragusa.* Annexation of **ROME** and **THE PAPAL STATES,** of *Holland*, *Northern Germany*, the *Hansa towns*, and part of *Switzerland* to France. Napoleon at the summit of his power, 1809–12. Repudiation of *Josephine* and marriage with *Maria Louisa of Austria.* **PIUS VII.** prisoner at *Rome*, *Savona* and *Fontainebleau*, 1809–1813.
3. Rising of the *Tirolese* under *Andreas Hofer*, 1809–10.	**WAGRAM.**	**NAPOLEON** over *Archd. Charles.*	
4. Campaign in *Spain.* *Wellington* advanced from Portugal into Spain. Wellington entrenched in the *Torres Vedras*, 1810–11.	*Talavera.*	*Wellington* over *King Joseph.*	

THE WARS OF REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE, 1792-1815.— *Continued.*

VIII. THE RUSSIAN WAR, 1812.

Causes.—1. The family alliance between France and Austria.
2. Alexander's fears of a resurrection of Poland.
3. Russian opposition to the Continental System.
4. The annexation of Oldenburg which belonged to Alexander's brother-in-law, to France.
5. Alexander's demand of the evacuation of Prussia by the French, a demand which Napoleon took as a declaration of war. Napoleon's alliances had been increased by that of *Sweden*, where the anti-French policy of *Gustavus III.* was inverted by the expulsion of the King, and the succession of his uncle *Charles XIII.* (1809–1818). Marshal *Bernadotte* elected Crown Prince of Sweden. Napoleon's grand army was recruited from every vassal State in Europe.

1. Invasion of *Russia* by *Napoleon*, June, 1812. The Russians whilst retreating destroyed everything in front of the French.

2. **NAPOLEON'S** disastrous **RETREAT FROM MOSCOW.** Arrived in Paris Dec. 18.
3. *Peninsular Campaign.* Southern Spain lost to the French.

Storming of *Smolensk* by **BORODINO AND MOSHAISK.**
Occupation of **MOSCOW** Sept. 14.
Burning of Moscow Sept. 16–20.
Krasnoy.
CROSSING OF THE BERESINA.
Salamanca.
Capture of Madrid.

Napoleon.
Napoleon over *Kutusow.*

Napoleon in the Kremlin.

Rostopchin.

Ney over the Russians.
Ney and *Oudinot* over the Russians.
Wellington over the French.

After Napoleon's departure *truce* between *Austria* and *Russia* (concluded by *Schwarzenberg*).
Treaty of Neutrality between *Prussia* and *Russia* concluded by *Gen. York.*
TREATY OF KALISH, Feb. 3, 1813. Offensive and defensive alliance between *Russia* and *Prussia.*
Subsidy Treaty between *England* and *Sweden* (Bernadotte).

IX. THE GREAT WAR OF LIBERATION, 1813–14.

Armies of the Allies.—1. The *Army of Bohemia* under *Schwarzenberg.* With this army were the three sovereigns, *Alexander I., Francis I.*, and *Frederic William III.*
2. The *Silesian Army* under **BLÜCHER.**
3. The *Northern Army* under *Bernadotte.*

1. Preliminary Campaign in *Germany*, 1813.	*Lützen* (May 2).	*Napoleon* over the Allies.	Whilst the preliminary campaign was fought in Germany, *Francis I.* mediated between France, Russia, and Prussia, in the *Congress of Prague;* Napoleon's demands made an agreement impossible.
	Bautzen and *Wurschen* (May 20–21).	*Napoleon* over the Allies.	
2. The decisive campaign of *Dresden* and *Leipsic.*	*Grosbeeren* (Aug 2).	*Bülow* over *Oudinot* and *Reynier.*	
	Katzbach (Aug. 26).	*Blücher* over *Macdonald.*	
	DRESDEN (Aug. 26–27).	Napoleon over Allies.	Austrian declaration of war, Aug. 12, 1813.
	Dennewitz (Sept. 6).	*Bülow* over *Ney.*	
3. Consequences of the Battle of Leipsic.	**LEIPSIC** (Oct. 16–19).	*Allies* over *Napoleon.*	**TREATY OF TEPLITZ** (Sept. 9), between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, for the restoration of the Austrian and Prussian Monarchies. With the progress of the German arms one State after the other abandoned the Confederacy of the Rhine.
(a) Conquest of the *Illyrian Provinces* and invasion of *Italy* by the *Austrians.*	Battle of Nations.		
(b) Collapse of the *Kgd. of Westphalia* and other Napoleonic creations.	Storm of Leipsic (Oct. 19).		
(c) Conquest of *Holland* by *Bülow* and return of the *House of Orange.*	On the *Unstrut.*	*Napoleon* on his retreat over the pursuing Allies.	*First Offer of Peace* made by Powers, Nov. 8, 1813. France to be bounded by the Alps and the Rhine; rejected by Napoleon.
(d) Surrender of his fleet to England by *Murat, Kg. of Naples.*	*Hanau.*	by *Napoleon.*	
4. Campaign in *Spain.* Expulsion of the French.	*Crossing of the Rhine* (Nov)	by the **ALLIES.**	*Congress of Chatillon*, Feb. 5–March 19. The Allies offered to Napoleon the boundaries of 1792.
5. *Campaign* of 1814 in *France.*	*Crossing of the Rhine* (Dec.), 1814.	*Wellington* over *Jourdan* and *King Joseph.*	*Conference of Allies at Chaumont*, March 1. Napoleon to be deposed.
	Vittoria.	*Blücher* over *Napoleon.*	
	La Rothière.	*Napoleon* over army of Silesia.	
	Montmirail and three other victories (Feb. 10–15) of	*Napoleon* over main army.	
	Nangis, Montereau (Feb. 17–18).	*Schwarzenberg* over *Oudinot* and *Macdonald.*	
	Bar sur Aube (Feb. 25).		

THE WARS OF REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE, 1792-1815.— *Continued.*

Laon; Arcis sur Aube (March). *La Fère Champenoise* (March). *Storm of Montmartre* (M. 30). *Toulouse* (Apr. 10).	*Allies* over *Napoleon.* Allies over *Marmont* and *Mortier.* Entrance of the Allies into **PARIS,** M. 30. *Wellington* over *Soult.*	Unconditional *abdication of Napoleon* at *Fontainebleau,* April 11. He received the Island of *Elba* as an independent principality. *Maria Louisa, Duchess of Parma.* *Louis XVIII. King of France.* France a Constitutional Monarchy. **FIRST PEACE OF PARIS,** May 13, 1814. France reduced to the boundaries of 1792.

X. LAST NAPOLEONIC WAR, 1815.

Napoleon's return from Elba. Restoration of the Empire of the French. The *Hundred Days* (March 20—June 22), 1815 Campaign of **WATERLOO,** June 14-18.	*Charleroi* (June 14). *Ligny* (June 16). *Quatre-Bras.* **WATERLOO.** Second occupation of Paris, July 7.	*Napoleon* over *Ziethen.* *Napoleon* over *Blücher.* *Prince of Orange* over *Ney.* **WELLINGTON** and **BLÜCHER** over **NAPOLEON.**	**CONGRESS OF VIENNA,** 1814–1815. *Second abdication of Napoleon* in favor of his son, June 22. Napoleon conveyed as prisoner of war to *St. Helena,* where he died May 5, 1821. *Restoration of Louis XVIII.* **SECOND PEACE OF PARIS** (Nov. 20). France reduced to the boundaries of 1790. (Acts of the Congress of Vienna, see p. 230.)

CHAPTER III.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

§ 1.

RELIEF BILLS — INSURRECTION OF "'98" — THE UNION.

359. First Irish Relief Acts. — The ferocious penal laws of England and Ireland reached their full maturity in the first fourteen years of George III. Catholics had neither social nor legal standing in Great Britain. The Irish Parliament itself, Protestant though it was, had become subject to the English Parliament and the Privy Council. But the impending conflict with America (1774) made it a matter of policy to conciliate the Irish Catholics. Accordingly the government procured the passing of an act of condescension in the Irish Parliament enabling the Irish Catholics to testify their allegiance to his Majesty.

The first real Relief Act was passed in 1778, when the Franco-American alliance frightened Lord North's ministry into new concessions. Under the leadership of the great orator Grattan, the Irish Parliament passed an act which abolished the penal laws as far as they disabled Catholics from purchasing, holding, and transferring landed property, 1778. The withdrawal of all regular troops from Ireland necessitated by the American war, gave the Irish Parliament a welcome opportunity of creating an army of volunteers under Lord Edward Fitzgerald, for the defense of the country against a French invasion. With this army to back him, Grattan, the Parliamentary leader, demanded and obtained from England an independent Irish Parliament.

360. English Relief Act — Lord Gordon Riots. — The year 1778 brought also the first Relief Act to the Catholics of England. The English Act declared it *expedient* to repeal the clauses of William III. against the prelates, clergymen, and school teachers, and to restore to Catholics the right of acquiring property by purchase and will. But when an extension of the English Relief Act

to Scotland was proposed, a violent storm of Protestant intolerance burst over the country. The Scotch Presbyterians rose against the very notion of relief to Catholics. In Glasgow and Edinburgh the mob destroyed Catholic chapels in 1778. In England, a Protestant Association was formed on the model of the Solemn League and Covenant, to prevent further concessions to Catholics and to bring about the repeal of the Relief Act. The agitation, led by Lord George Gordon, the narrow-minded president of the Association, and fed by the inflammatory speeches of John Wesley and other Methodist firebrands in 1779, led to the Gordon riots of 1780. For five days London was at the mercy of an infuriated mob.

The chapels of the foreign ambassadors and other places of Catholic worship, with their altars, sacred vestments, libraries, documents, and furniture, piled up in the streets, were delivered to the flames. The houses of Catholics or their Protestant friends were burned down or looted, among them the residences of Lord North, of Sir George Savile who had carried the Relief Act, of Lord Mansfield, who, as Lord Chief Justice, had put every available obstacle in the way of the conviction of priests. Edmund Burke, the defender of Catholics in Parliamant, had to flee for his life. The chief prisons of London were broken into and the prisoners released. Drunkenness added to the horror. On January 7, 200 persons were shot dead in the streets and 250 more were lying in the hospitals. All this time the authorities were supinely inactive. Only when the King himself ordered the troops to act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, did the riots cease, January 8. As Lord Gordon had lost control over his adherents from the outset of the riots, he was acquitted of high treason.

361. The Relief Act of 1791. — The alarm which the French Revolution roused in England again quickened the desire of the government to promote as far as possible peace and union in the realm, and led to the substantial Relief Act of 1791, which abolished for Catholics the oath of supremacy, and the declaration against Transubstantiation; it legalized the public worship of the Catholic Church, opened Catholic schools, admitted Catholics to the bar, and removed a number of other disabilities. Similar relief was extended to Scotland.

A better feeling between Catholics and Protestants than had ever existed since the days of the Reformation, was brought about by the emigrant priests who crowded to the English shores to escape the persecution of revolutionary France. English society from the court downward, including the Angli-

can clergy, contributed to the support of these Confessors of the Faith, whose modest bearing and good example under extreme privations helped to remove anti-Catholic prejudices.

362. Causes of the Irish Insurrection of 1798. — In spite of the independence achieved in 1782, the Irish Parliament was still a most anomalous body. Of its 300 members 200 were borough members, whose election was controlled by less than 100 men. The Catholics — three-fourths of the population — could neither vote for nor sit in Parliament. The Lord-Lieutenant was responsible only to the English government. The army of volunteers withered away under the intrigues of the Viceroys and the inactivity of Grattan. To remedy these evils, Wolfe Tone, a Presbyterian, founded the Society of United Irishmen.

Their object was originally a peaceful one: to bring about a Parliamentary reform by a union of Catholics and Protestants. It was Pitt who drove them into rebellion. To baffle their aims, he first granted to the Irish Catholics the illusory right of voting for members but not of sitting in Parliament. The victories of the French armies at Toulon and along the whole line over the English called a temporary halt to this policy. The result was the appointment of Fitzwilliams, who had freely identified himself with the hopes of the Catholics and Reformers, as Lord-Lieutenant. But his high sense of justice and impartiality to all alike did not please the government, and he was speedily recalled to make room for the Party of the "Protestant Ascendency" and the murderous Orange Society, which had been founded for setting Catholic and Protestant at daggers drawn. The recall of Fitzwilliams, amidst the consternation of the country, induced the United Irishmen to meet in secret, bind themselves by oath, arm and fix their eyes on France. After the recall of Fitzwilliams Wolfe Tone appealed to France for aid. The French expedition under Hoche to Bantry Bay was prevented from landing by stress of weather.

363. The Insurrection of 1798. — The measures resorted to by Castlereagh, Fitzwilliams' successor, to goad the Irish people into insurrection, were plenary powers given to the country gentlemen and the Orange lodges to flog, torture, kill, violate, burn at their

heart's content. Neither age nor sex nor acknowledged innocence afforded protection. The only crime which the objects of this ruthless persecution were charged with, was a profession of the Catholic faith, or, in the case of Protestants, political sympathy with the Catholics. Priests who had sternly opposed the United Irish Society, had to suffer similar outrages. The insurrection which was called forth by these measures was confined almost wholly to the provinces of Leinster and Connaught. Wexford was the chief seat of resistance, and held for four weeks army after army at bay. The cowardice of the instigators was as great as their cruelty; again and again large bodies of them fled before a small number of ill-armed Irish peasants. It took 150,000 men under Cornwallis, and cost 30,000 lives to suppress the civil war so wantonly provoked; but it served its purpose, for it hastened Pitt's favorite measure, the Parliamentary Union of England and Ireland. Most of the Irish leaders who survived the contest died on the gallows, in prison, or in exile.

364. The Union. — Pitt at once took up the question of the Union. The insurrection had removed the national leaders. By a system of wholesale bribery Pitt strove to gain over the Irish Parliament to his measure. More than 1,000,000*l.* was spent by the government to carry the act. Places, offices, and peerages were lavishly distributed. Owners of Irish boroughs were compensated at the rate of 15,000*l.* a seat. To obtain the moral support of the Catholics, Pitt entered into a pledge promulgated all over Ireland in the form of a printed speech in which Catholics were promised admission to Parliament. The Irish Parliament of 1799 was not yet sufficiently corrupted to pass the measure. But in the last Irish Parliament of 1800 the union with England was carried by a majority of sixty. The Act of Union took effect January 1, 1801.

The attempt of Robert Emmet in 1803 to surprise the Castle, rouse Dublin and destroy the Union, had the only result of sending Emmet to the gallows, and causing a new reign of terror to be inflicted on Ireland.

365. The Catholics Deceived. — It was now the time for Pitt to fulfill his pledge. But George III. had been made to consider the admission of Catholics to Parliament as incompatible with his

coronation oath. The idea of Catholic Emancipation so preyed on George's mind as to cause a return of the "king's illness" —insanity. Pitt availed himself of the occasion to hand in his resignation, a step by which he escaped the disagreeable duty of making peace with Napoleon. When, however, the reopening of the war between England and France brought Pitt back to office, he simply ignored his former promises to the Irish Catholics.

After the failure of the Grattan Relief Bill of 1813, the emancipation question began to lose ground. England's fears were calmed by the fall of Napoleon. It was not till 1821 that the successful fight began which after eight years of hard campaigning resulted in the victory of 1829.

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§ 2.

DANIEL O'CONNELL AND THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

366. Daniel O'Connell. — Daniel O'Connell, a devout son of his Church as well as an ardent patriot, fought as much for the freedom of his country as of religion, but it was his strong religious convictions that gave perseverance and success to his patriotism. His path was strewn with difficulties. He had to overcome both the hostility of the Protestants and the apathy of Catholics. Orangeism as a secret society founded in 1795 was all-powerful. Its aim was to maintain the ascendency of Protestantism in Ireland. It dominated the courts of justice. The Catholics as a class were disheartened. But by

his eloquence, his absolute disinterestedness and his defiant aggressiveness, which, however, always kept within the limits of law-abiding agitation, O'Connell aroused, united and swayed the vast body of Irish Catholics in the pursuit of a common purpose, as no other leader before or after him has done. In 1823 he organized the widespread Catholic Association which soon struck the government with alarm. It was condemned by Parliament in 1825 as illegal. To prevent English interference, O'Connell himself dissolved the organization. Still he continued to stir up Catholic public sentiment in favor of his enterprise by restless activity and various forms of public meetings.

367. The Clare Election. — In England there was a division of sentiment concerning the Irish movement for freedom and justice. Already in 1825, shortly after the dissolution of the Catholic Association, an Act of Emancipation had been discussed and passed in the House of Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. After the formation of the Wellington ministry in 1828, Lord John Russell, against the wish of the ministry, succeeded in repealing the Test and Corporation Acts, as far as they compelled applicants for office and for seats in Parliament to receive the communion in the Church of England. In consequence Parliament was opened to all dissenters, but remained barred to Catholics by the oath still in force against Transubstantiation, which Russell did not propose to repeal. Taking advantage of his right of election, O'Connell came before the people of Clare as candidate for the House of Commons. He openly declared that if elected he would present himself before Parliament and claim his seat though he would decline and denounce the infamous oath against the Holy Eucharist. The government strained every nerve to elect its candidate, but O'Connell won by a tremendous majority.

368. Catholic Emancipation, 1829. — Wellington now stood before the alternative of granting Catholic Emancipation or risking a civil war. It was in consequence of this dread and not for any principle of truth and justice that Wellington and Mr. Peel decided to bring in an act abolishing the civil and political disabilities of the Catholics. To guard against treachery on the part of George IV.

(1820–30) who was no friend of the Catholic cause, the ministers secured a written authorization from him. Thus Catholic Emancipation was carried in consequence of the Clare election, a few days before O'Connell presented himself before the House. With characteristic spite Robert Peel had inserted a clause by which only those who had been elected *after* the passage of the act should be benefited by it. The offensive oath was consequently tendered to O'Connell, but sternly refused. A new writ had to be issued for the county of Clare. But Peel's petty ingenuity only furnished O'Connell the triumph of a second election.

The Emancipation Act opened Parliament and all offices, except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor of England and Ireland, and Viceroy of Ireland, to the Roman Catholics. An accompanying act disfranchised forty-shilling freeholders who had been allowed to vote as long as their votes were given to the landlords.

369. The Tithe War, 1830-38. — The Catholic Church was no longer directly persecuted, but the Episcopal State Church of Ireland was still supported by the tithes exacted at the point of the bayonet from the impoverished Catholic peasantry. Whilst thousands of Catholics were huddled together in miserable hovels to attend mass, they had to pay their tithes to the Episcopalian clergyman whose whole congregation often consisted of a solitary clerk. O'Connell's dreaded eloquence in Parliament never rose to loftier flights than when he branded this iniquitous system. He was strongly supported by public opinion in Ireland. As political meetings were prohibited under successive Insurrection Acts, opposition to the tithe system was organized at hurling matches. The opposition produced a state of unrest close to civil strife. Down to the year 1833 the military force necessitated by the tithe war cost over a million. The loss of life in exacting the tribute was enormous. Parliamentary commission reports and temporary measures followed in rapid succession, but the unjust principle was not touched until the Irish tithe agitation crossed over into England, where the same grievance existed. This brought matters to an issue. In 1836 Lord John Russell's tithe bill settled the question for England, that of 1838 for Ireland. The payment of tithes was transferred from the tenants to the landlords, and Parliament voted a quarter of a million

for the extinction of arrears. The tithe war struck a blow at the Established Church in Ireland from which it never recovered. Its consequence, at a later period, was the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church.

370. The Repeal Agitation. — O'Connell was less fortunate and successful in his agitation for the repeal of the Union. True, he received the warm support of Father Mathew's temperance movement. His own Sunday assemblies gradually swelled into monster meetings. It is said that at Tara, 250,000 persons listened to the bitter invectives of his impassioned oratory. But when the government in 1843 proclaimed one of his meetings, and massed large bodies of police and soldiery for the occasion, O'Connell issued a proclamation of his own commanding obedience to authority, and was obeyed. From the moment it became clear that O'Connell was firmly set against methods of violence, the movement lost its force. Hotter heads, the members of the "Young Ireland" party, became infected with the spirit of the international revolution, and embittered the last years of the great leader. Gradually secret societies took the place of open agitation. O'Connell died in Genoa, May 15, 1847, on his way to Rome, where his heart is enshrined in the chapel of the Irish College. The very failure of his repeal agitation is an honor to his character. His renown as one of the greatest figures in Irish history rests securely on his achievement of Catholic Emancipation.

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BOOK III.

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE REVOLUTION OF THE BARRICADES.

§ 1.

FIRST OUTBREAKS.

371. The Carbonari. — Notwithstanding the victories of the combined royal Powers, the revolutionary spirit continued to smoulder in the underground plottings of secret societies, which, bursting forth into frequent eruptions, characterize the coming period of history in Europe. Foremost among the plotters were the Carbonari. This society had originated among the mountaineers of Calabria and the Abbruzzi, who resented the rule of Murat and rallied for the restoration of Ferdinand. To disguise their object they assumed the name of Carbonari or charcoal burners, and designated their meetings as Vendite or Vente, i. e., sales. Their meetings were dispersed by Murat. After the restoration the more turbulent of these Carbonari, disaffected or disappointed under the reigning government, formed a new association which, owing to its efficient management, soon spread its ramifications into every part of Italy and Sicily. Its local Vendite obeyed a central committee established in each State and called the Alta Vendita. The members of each local society, divided into several grades, were for the most part unknown to each other, and known only to the heads of the Vendita. All communications, as a rule delivered orally, were carried on through the Alta Vendita. The candidates had to take an oath of secrecy and blind obedience, and to give themselves up, body and soul, to the organization and its leaders. Disloyalty was punished with assassination. Political murder was a recognized method of action of this society. The object which the Carbonari strove to realize was the regeneration of a united Italy on the basis of the anti-Christian Revolution.

372. First Outbreak in Spain and Portugal, 1820. — It was not in Italy, however, but in Spain, that the first rising against

the restored order of things occurred. On his return from French captivity Ferdinand VII. of Spain had first accepted then abolished the revolutionary Constitution of 1812. But being a worthless and despotic king he lost in a short time the esteem of his people by arbitrary imprisonments, irresponsible rule, and private scandals. A military insurrection at Cadiz spread with incredible rapidity through Spain and forced the king in March, 1820, to establish a Parliament elected by universal suffrage and once more to grant the Constitution of 1812.

Portugal at the same time overthrew the English rule under the unpopular Lord Beresford and adopted a similar Constitution. John VI. who had fled to Brazil was recalled and ratified the Constitution.

Dom Pedro, the eldest son of John VI., remained in Brazil. Brazil had been declared an Empire when the royal family in 1808 had fled from Lisbon. In 1821 the Portuguese Chambers resolved to reduce Brazil again to the state of a colony. Thereupon Dom Pedro placed himself at the head of the people, declared Brazil independent of Portugal, and assumed the imperial title as Dom Pedro I.

373. The Rising in Italy. — After the Congress of Vienna, Pius VII. and the governments of Sardinia and Sicily had entered upon a course of reconstruction. Cardinal Consalvi retained many of the useful reforms introduced by the French administration and added new ones. But the proceedings of the governments were too slow to satisfy the revolutionary party. The news of the Spanish Revolution was the signal for the first outbreak of the Carbonari in 1820. The rising began in the Kingdom of Naples, where the insurgents were joined by the regular troops commanded by Carbonari officers, and took possession of Naples. The King resigned in favor of his son, the Duke of Calabria who, as Ferdinand II., swore to a Constitution which had been borrowed from Spain. During the convulsion on the mainland the Sicilian Carbonari made an attempt to effect the independence of their island, but the new government of Naples brought them to submission by the bombardment of Palermo. The only rising in the Papal States, at Civita Vecchia, was quashed by the papal troops and the loyalty of the people.

374. Suppression of the Italian Revolt, 1821. — Meanwhile the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance, Austria, Russia, and Prussia,

made preparations to counteract the disturbances of the South. In the Congress of Troppau, 1820, and of Laybach, 1821, they placed an Austrian army at the disposal of Ferdinand II. of Naples, whilst the Congress of Verona, 1822, took steps to suppress the risings in Spain and Greece. In southern Italy the revolutionary army vanished before the approach of the Austrians, who occupied Naples; the old form of government was restored. Whilst Naples was being pacified, a revolution broke out in Piedmont. The center of revolt was the Vendita of Alessandria. Through the treachery of a portion of the army the Carbonari obtained possession of the citadels of Alessandria and Turin, and demanded the Spanish Constitution. Victor Emmanuel I. abdicated in favor of his brother Charles Felix, who assembled an army of loyal regiments and with the aid of the Austrians routed the revolutionists at Novara. The King entered Turin and the Austrians occupied the fortresses to prevent a repetition of the treachery which had given Alessandria and Turin into the hands of the Carbonari.

375. Results. — The rising of the Carbonari put a stop to the useful reforms inaugurated by the Italian governments, as these were now forced to fight for their very existence in the face of a secret society which had undermined the army and the administration. It had strengthened, however, the Austrian influence which it had sought to destroy. Their defeat in Italy drove them to France where they established their headquarters and became an international society with the fixed purpose to revolutionize France and make her the base of operation against other governments.

In the period of tranquillity which followed the revolution of 1820 and 1821, the government of Pius VII. was followed by the energetic Pontificate of Leo XII. (1823–1829) and the short rule of Pius VIII. (1829–1830).

376. Defection of the Spanish Colonies in America. — The restrictions on commerce, navigation and industry and on the tenure of office which Spain had imposed on its colonies for its own selfish interests, had reared a growing opposition to the mother country. The expulsion of the Jesuits and the spread of Freemasonry served only to loosen the ties of allegiance. The example and growing prosperity of the United States further encouraged the spirit of republicanism. Finally the French conquest of Spain gave the signal to unfurl the standard of independence. Since 1810 colony after colony severed its connection with Spain. It was in

vain that Spain endeavored to recover her colonies. The very troops she had levied to send to America turned against the home government and started the revolution of 1820 at Cadiz. The death blow to Spanish dominion was, however, dealt in the decisive battle of Aayacucho, 1824, by the Liberator, Bolivar. This South American hero became Dictator of Columbia, Peru, Bolivia, the republics he had founded, and by the energetic use of his power provoked fresh insurrections. From these revolutions and counter-revolutions emerged the following republics of South and Central America: Buenos Ayres which formed the Argentine Republic; La Plata, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chili, Peru, Bolivia, Columbia, which in 1821 split into the separate States of Venezuela, New Granada (now Columbia in the narrow sense), and Ecuador. Cuba and Porto Rico alone remained to Spain.

Mexico was severed from Spain in 1821 by General Iturbide who in the following year proclaimed himself Emperor. But rival generals deposed him and changed Mexico into a Republic. Iturbide was executed in 1824.

The history of these States forms a long succession of civil wars, pronunciamentos, military insurrections, alternate persecutions of or reconciliations with the Church, all resulting in social demoralization and financial disasters.

377. The Revolution Suppressed in Spain. — The Congress of Verona had decreed to aid the royal cause in Spain. In pursuance of this decree the Duke of Angoulême entered Spain in 1823. So disgusted were the people with the misgovernment of the radicals and their warfare against religion, that the French were hailed as liberators. In Madrid the people destroyed every vestige of the revolutionary government. The Cortes, who had fled with Ferdinand VII. to Cadiz, were seized and dispersed, whereupon the King, freed from their influence, revoked the Constitution of 1812 and the decrees against the Church which had been extorted from him. The French occupation lasted till 1827.

378. Portugal. — In Portugal the revolutionary Chamber deprived the King of nearly all his powers, expelled the Queen, the Patriarch of Lisbon, the Archbishop of Praga, and made numerous

confiscations of ecclesiastical and private property. Dom Miguel, the younger son of John VI., a high-souled Catholic in principles and life, at the head of his loyal regiments opposed the anarchical doings of the revolutionists, restored order, and thereby earned the implacable hatred of the Freemasons. Traitors in collusion with Dom Pedro I. of Brazil, prevailed upon the weak King to send the Infante Dom Miguel on foreign travels. In 1824, John VI. returned to Brazil, where he died two years later — probably by violence — after appointing a regency controlled by Dom Pedro. It was Dom Pedro's aim to secure the succession in Portugal to his daughter, Maria da Gloria. But the people, exasperated by the crimes of the secret societies, clamored for Dom Miguel. The Cortes in 1828 proclaimed him King in conformity with the Portuguese hereditary right. The Church was then restored to her rights and possessions.

379. War of Grecian Independence, 1821–29. — In 1821, an insurrection broke out in the East among the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Porte. The secret societies of the Hetaries had since 1814 prepared the ground and furnished the fighters. The rising started in Moldavia and Wallachia under the Grecian leader Ypsilanti. He was defeated, fled across the Austrian frontiers, and was for six years detained in an Austrian prison. For whilst the popular sympathy of all Europe was for the Greeks, the members of the Holy Alliance, for the sake of consistency and from mutual jealousy, opposed the movement although it was essentially different from the revolutionary risings in Italy and Spain. The uprising of the Greeks caused Moslem attacks upon the Christians in Constantinople and other Turkish cities and horrible barbarities in the island of Chios, where 20,000 Christians were massacred, 47,000 sold into slavery, and a population of 100,000 reduced to 20,000. The Greek leader Canares retaliated in kind and burnt a part of the Turkish fleet. Thanks to the assistance of the Philo-hellenists of England, France, Germany, and America, the Greek patriots were enabled not only to maintain themselves in Morea, but to extend the insurrection to Middle Greece, Thessaly, and most of the islands. The movement, however, became seriously endangered, when Mehemet Ali of Egypt sent his (adopted) son Ibrahim Pasha with an army to Morea to conquer it

for the Sultan. Morea was frightfully devastated. The strong fortress of Missolonghi fell in 1826 after a most heroic resistance. Public opinion in western Europe at length compelled France and England to take interest in the struggling nation. The aggressive Nicholas I. of Russia, who had succeeded his brother Alexander I. in 1825, concluded an alliance with the two western Powers. To put an end to the atrocities committed by the Moslem in Greece, the allied admirals upon their own responsibility attacked and nearly annihilated the Turkish fleet at Navarino, 1827. Nicholas continued the war alone, until Turkey, in 1829, conceded the independence of Greece in the Peace of Adrianople. In 1830 the London Conference of the Guardian Powers declared Greece an independent kingdom. A Bavarian Prince was settled on the throne as Otto I., 1832–1867.

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§ 2.

THE JULY REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.

380. Louis XVIII., 1814–1824. — At his first restoration Louis XVIII. had issued the "Charte," which made France a constitutional, hereditary kingdom. The Legislature consisted of two Chambers, the Peers being nominated by the King, the Deputies elected by the people. A portion of the lower Chamber was to be annually renewed. A free press, responsible ministers and irremovable judges were guaranteed by the Charte. Whilst Catholicism was acknowledged as the religion of the State, dissenting denominations enjoyed freedom of worship. The first years of the restoration were marked by party strife between royalists of different grades, doctrinaires who took the English Constitution for their model (Guizot), independents, Bonapartists, and Republicans. The King, personally moderate, fond of rest, accustomed to constitutional forms from his stay in England, exercised little influence on the wrangling factions. His younger brother, the Count

of Artois, was a strong Catholic and a staunch royalist, who wisely sought the regeneration of France in the revival of Catholic faith and practice, but less wisely in the restoration of the ancient regime. The first Chamber elected by this party, decreed the exile of the regicides and other repressive measures. Gradually the constitutional party, representing the wealthy middle class, gained the ascendency in the Chamber, and successive ministries worked in their interest. But behind this party and allied to it stood the Revolution.

381. Murder of the Duke of Berry, 1820. — The secret aims of the revolutionists transpired in the murder of the Duke of Berry, son of the Count of Artois, by Louvel, a revolutionary fanatic. Berry was the hope of the Bourbon succession. Louvel's crime, however, not only failed of its purpose, as a posthumous son was born to the Duke a few months after his assassination, but it turned public opinion in favor of royalism. The young Duke of Bordeaux was everywhere hailed as the representative of legitimacy, the child of Europe, the future Henry V. The next elections in 1823 returned an overwhelming royalist majority. The new Chamber passed a septennial election law by which instead of the annual renewal the entire Chamber of Deputies was to be chosen every seventh year.

382. Succession of Charles X., 1824–1830. — Louis XVIII. died in 1824, and was succeeded by his brother, the Count of Artois. He was a popular King, and on his visits through the country was everywhere received by the people with unfeigned enthusiasm. His policy was characterized by his efforts to strengthen the Church and the Crown. The vote of the Chamber of 1825, appropriating 200,000,000 to indemnify the returned Emigrants for their confiscated estates was a further step in the policy of the restoration.

Whilst royalism ruled in the Chamber, in the administration and a great part of the people, the Liberals, as the different factions opposed to the Church and to the throne called themselves, were busy at work in the city, the provinces, and the army. The Alta Vendita (Haute Vente) of the Carbonari, which had its seat in Paris, numbered amongst its members Louis Philip, Duke of Orleans, the son of Egalité, old Lafayette, Guizot, and other liberal leaders. Thiers glorified in his history not only the Revolution but even the Terror. Professional conspirators were spreading

among the people cheap editions of Voltaire and Rousseau in hundred thousands of copies. The public press was hired to serve the cause of impiety and anarchy, so that Leo XII. found it necessary to brand its anti-religious propaganda. The splendid revival of Catholicism in France had exasperated the secret societies. "Down with the Jesuits" became the political war cry of the Liberals. Pius VII. had restored the Society of Jesus in the whole Church (1814). Now not only the members of the order, but every practical Catholic in France was decried as a Jesuit.

383. The Approach of the Storm. — In 1827 two legions of the National Guards publicly insulted the royal family. The act led to the dissolution of the guards, which in its turn increased the activity of the Liberals. The elections of 1828 returned a Liberal majority. The ministry of Villèle, the first of Charles X., fell. The succeeding ministry of Martignac was too liberal for the Royalists and too conservative for the Liberals. Aware that further concessions would not be conducive to the welfare of France, Charles X. directed Polignac, a stanch Catholic and Royalist, to form a new ministry. Polignac's motto was: No more concessions. When the King in 1830 opened the session of the lower Chamber, 221 members sent in a vote of want of confidence. Charles X. took up the gauntlet, and dissolved the Chamber. At the time France was carrying on a desultory war in Algiers. In the hope of quieting the agitation at home by a military success abroad the King ordered a vigorous attack upon Algiers. The pirate fortress fell, and with it fell forever Moslem piracy and the enslavement of Christians in Algiers and along the whole Barbary coast. But before the news arrived, the new elections had returned an increased Liberal majority. As a last resource Charles resolved upon a coup d'etat. It cost him his crown.

384. The Ordinances. — Basing his action on Art. 14 of the Charte: "The King makes the regulations and ordinances necessary for the maintenance of the laws and the safety of the State" Charles, July 26, issued five ordinances, the principal of which abolished the freedom of the press, dissolved the Chambers, and restricted the right of suffrage to the landed proprietors.

385. The July Revolution, July 27-29, 1830. — The great mass of the people remained indifferent. The protest of the jour-

nalists fell flat. The few barricades that were attempted were easily scattered. All the occurrences of July 27 did not ruffle the even tenor of the city's life. But the experienced conspirators of the Carbonari advised by Lafayette were feverishly active, and formed revolutionary committees in every district. July 28 barricades rose all over the city. As the troops were not in readiness or were badly led, the insurgents invaded the city hall. On the following day the street fights continued with increased violence. Two regiments of the line joined the insurrectionists. But when the Republican mob, soldiers, students, laborers, and foreigners had stormed the Louvre, the Archbishop's palace, and other public buildings, and forced the regulars to retreat, then the bourgeoisie which favored a constitutional monarchy of its own making, promptly organized a Provisional Government, consisting of Lafitte, Casimir Perier, and Odillon Barrot, and thus snatched the victory from the hands of the Republicans. Lafayette was given the command of the National Guards. Louis Philip, whom duty and honor in this hour of danger called to the King's side, accepted the revolutionary appointment of Lieutenant-General of France.

386. The July Monarchy. — During these days, the King, who was staying in the palace of St. Cloud, could not be made to believe the reality of the danger. When at last it dawned upon him, he revoked the ordinances, but it was too late. Seeing the throne was lost, he abdicated in favor of the Duke of Bordeaux and recommended the boy to Louis Philip. Having promised Charles X. and the foreign ambassadors to respect the rights of the legitimate heir, Louis Philip went before the Chamber and, disregarding the claim of the Prince and his own sacred pledges, simply announced the King's unqualified abdication. This perfidy earned him the crown. France entered upon a new phase, the July Monarchy under a citizen King, who was allowed to reign but not to rule. In recognition of the revolutionary origin of this elevation, Louis Philip called himself King of the French. The Chamber of Deputies abolished Article III. and changed the Charte in the direction of popular sovereignty. The Chamber, the army and the administration were purged of legitimist members. Four ministers of Charles X. were sentenced to life imprisonment.

The courts of western Europe regarded the revolution as an internal affair of France, and acknowledged Louis Philip, whilst Nicholas of Russia withheld his recognition. Charles X. went first to England, then to Austria. He died at Görz in Styria, 1836. The Duke of Bordeaux subsequently assumed the title of Count of Chambord.

Lamartine: *The Restoration of Monarchy in France.* — E. E. Crow: *Hist. of the Reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X.* — Imbert de St. Amand: *The Duchess of Angoulême and the Two Restorations; Duchess of Berry, etc.; The Revol. of 1830.* — Turnbull: *Revol. of 1830.* — Hone: *Full Annals of the Revol.* (July 25-August 9, 1830). — J. Macdonnel: *France since the First Empire.* — R. Mackenzie: *The Nineteenth Century.* — Marquis de Villeneuve: *La Congregation* (1801-1830).

§ 3.

SPREAD OF THE JULY REVOLUTION.

387. Causes of the Belgian Revolution. — The July Revolution found the Belgian people ripe for a change. The ill-assorted union of Belgium and Holland effected by the Congress of Vienna had worked only harm on the Belgians. Both Catholics and Liberals resented the imposition of the language, the law and the national debt of the Dutch minority. The Catholics, besides, had a grievance of their own; they resented the persecution of the Church and the suppression of Catholic education by their Dutch rulers, and joyfully hailed the idea of a separation from Holland.

388. The Outbreak and its Results, 1830. — The insurrection, which had been fostered by French emissaries, broke out in September at Brussels, and after the failure of the Prince of Orange to reconquer the capital, spread over the whole country except Antwerp, which was kept in check by the fire of the citadel. A Provisional Government proclaimed the separation of Belgium and Holland. A National Congress passed the second Declaration of Independence (November 8), the establishment of Belgium as a Constitutional Kingdom (November 22), and the perpetual exclusion of the House of Orange from the throne (November 24). The representatives of the Five Great Powers assembled in the Conference of London took up the Belgian question. France and England demanded the recognition of the independence of Belgium. The simultaneous outbreak of the Revolution at Warsaw induced the Eastern Powers to acquiesce in the proposal. The Belgians in 1831 chose for their King Leopold of Saxe-Coburg who had refused the crown of Greece. Though the King was a Protestant, the Catho-

lics did not oppose his election, as the new Constitution forbade all interference of the State in ecclesiastical affairs. The subsequent history of Belgium proved that the independence of the Church does in no way hamper the order, prosperity and strength of the State.

389. Settlement. — In spite of the recognition of Leopold I. of Belgium and the regulation of the respective frontiers by the Conference of London, William I. of Holland ventured to support his claims by an appeal to arms. Twice he defeated Leopold, at Hasselt and at Louvain, but upon the approach of a French army and an English fleet he rapidly withdrew. A later attempt to annul the decrees of the London Conference had no better result. An Anglo-French fleet blockaded the Dutch fleet in the Texel, and a French army captured the citadel of Antwerp. In 1838 William accepted the settlement of the Conference.

390. The Outbreak in the Russian Kingdom of Poland. — The despotism of Prince Constantine, governor of Warsaw, made Poland a prolific hot-bed of widespread conspiracies for separation from Russia and for the restoration of the ancient Kingdom-Republic. Poland was cut off from foreign aid. Austria and Prussia guarded their own portions of the dismembered State. Louis Philip cared more for the recognition of Nicholas I. hitherto withheld than for the aspirations of a subjected nation. Lord Palmerston, meddlesome enough in other countries, would have nothing to do with Polish affairs. The insurrection broke out at Warsaw in an attempt on Constantine's life. His flight left the capital, two fortresses, a well equipped army and an organized government in the hands of the insurgents. But unfortunate divisions split their ranks from the beginning. The Whites or aristocratic party desired the old government of the nobles under a personal union with Russia; the Reds or Democrats, an independent republic. Clopicki was named dictator, and brought some order out of the general confusion, but lost valuable time by negotiations with Russia, and was finally compelled to make room for the Republicans. The Diet, in January, 1831, declared the House of Romanow deposed in Poland. Prince Chartoryski was chosen president, and Prince Radziwill appointed commander-in-chief.

391. The War. — The Russians advanced under General Diebitch. Around Wavre and Grochow the Poles for seven continuous days offered a fierce and destructive resistance to twice their number of foes, but were at last forced to retreat to Praga. Several subsequent victories, however, enabled them to carry the insurrection into Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia. In the bloody battle of Ostrolenka they received their first heavy blow, and retreated again to

Praga unpursued, as the Russian army had to separate in order to face the enemy in Lithuania. The cholera which for the first time swept from Russia across Europe, seemed for a while to aid the Polish cause; Diebitch and Prince Constantine were among its victims. But General Paskewitch, the new commander-in-chief, marched upon Warsaw. Though the Poles fought with the courage of despair, they disgraced their cause by factional massacres, and brought about their own downfall. The capture of Warsaw in September, 1831, sealed the fate of Poland. The remaining Polish armies saved themselves by crossing into Austria and Prussia, where they were disarmed.

Europe was profoundly moved by the fall of Warsaw and the new Russian despotism. The Constitution granted by Alexander I. in 1815 was annulled, and the kingdom of Poland changed into a Russian province. The children of the fallen, imprisoned, or fugitive nobles captured by the Cossacks, were transported to Russia, to be brought up as soldiers of the Czar. Russia's settled policy henceforth tended to stamp out the national spirit of the Poles by a steady system of Russification and a remorseless persecution of the Catholic Church.

392. The Rising in Central Italy. — The wave of the July Revolution struck Italy in February, 1831. The day after the accession of Gregory XVI. the revolt broke out in Modena, under Menotti, the head of the Modenese Vendita. From Modena it spread to Bologna, where the Republican Federation established its Giunta, thence to Parma, Romagna, and the Umbrian Marches. During the conclave the Roman Vendita had organized a conspiracy for the overthrow of the Pontifical government, but it failed, owing to the enthusiastic devotion of the citizens of Rome for the new Pontiff. The popularity of Ferdinand II., "the darling of Naples," likewise frustrated any hope of revolutionizing that kingdom. An Austrian army marching into the affected districts made short work of the insurrection. New outbreaks in 1832 led to the temporary occupation of Bologna by the Austrians and of Ancona by the French.

Among the conspirators of 1831 was Prince Louis Bonaparte, the son of Louis of Holland and Hortense, who thus began as an initiated Carbonaro the war against the Temporal Power, which he afterwards prosecuted as Emperor of the French.

393. Young Italy. — Mazzini now founded a new secret society, "Young Italy," with headquarters at Marseilles. No one was admitted who had passed the age of forty. Its aim was the establishment of an indivisible Italian Republic. Its religion, like that of Mazzini, consisted of a vague belief in the existence of God, a strong faith in the power of humanity and fierce hatred of the Catholic Church. Its political means were "thought and action," *i. e.*, the literary propaganda of Mazzinianism, and incessant attempts at insurrection. The movement was joined by Joseph Garibaldi, the young captain of a Genoese brig. Hatched at the close of 1831, "Young Italy" was in 1833 as strong as the old Carbonari.

Having secured the co-operation of the secret societies in Italy, Germany and France, Mazzini planned a simultaneous outbreak in these countries for 1833 and 1834. But the plot to invade Savoy, Piedmont, and Lombardy and thence to spread the insurrection southward, was discovered and frustrated by the government of Sardinia. The uprising in Germany (Frankfort) was a farce; two military posts were overpowered for a few hours. Only in Lyons, which swarmed with socialistic laborers, the rising assumed formidable proportions. It took General Aymor five days of hard fighting to get the city under control. Undaunted by these failures Mazzini transferred his headquarters to Geneva and reorganized his forces, composed of political fugitives from many countries. From Geneva he detailed a young Corsican, Antonio Gallenga, to assassinate King Charles Albert, but the plot miscarried. With a new failure to invade Savoy, the first epoch of Young Italy ended in defeat. Its only result was to multiply repressive measures in Italy, Austria, and Prussia.

The two principal leaders separated. Mazzini continued, first in Switzerland, since 1839 in London, to "weave the dark web of conspiracy and assassination." Garibaldi launched into the revolutions of South America and gathered around him the legion of Italian adventurers who formed the nucleus of the later Garibaldians. In Italy the Moderates, like Gioberti confined themselves to a literary crusade, advocating a confederation of Italian States, while the men of action were waiting for a more favorable opportunity. Gregory XVI. died in 1846, leaving the Papal States in a flourishing condition of material prosperity.

For Belgium and Poland. — Alison, Fyffe, Walpole, Rambaud, Rose: *A Century of Continental Hist. 1780-1880.* — Morfill: *The Story of Poland.* — M'Swiney: *The Cath. Church in Poland Under the Russ. Governm.* M. 76, 2-3. — R. Parsons: *The*

Struggle of Polish Catholicity with Russian Orthodoxy, A. C. Q. 9; 22. — Nordynski: *Hist. of the Late Polish Revol*

For Italy. — Chev. O'Clery: *The It. Rev.*, ch. IV.-V. pp. 144-187. — R. Parsons: *Mazzini and Young Italy; Pontificate of Gregory XVI.;* Studies V. — Card. Wiseman: *Recollections of the Last Four Popes.* — Garibaldi: *Autobiogr.* — *Joseph Mazzini: His Life, Writings and Political Principles:* Parkinson: M. '75, 3.

§ 4.

THE JULY REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

394. Portugal. — The July Revolution produced a rich crop of revolutionary movements in the Pyrenean peninsula. The legitimate kingdom of Charles X. had lent its support to Dom Miguel and the Catholics; the citizen kingdom of Louis Philip transferred its support to the Liberals and Freemasons. Dom Pedro I. had been forced in Brazil to abdicate in favor of his son, Dom Pedro II., 1831. He came to Europe to promote the claims of his daughter Maria da Gloria, to the throne of Portugal, and succeeded in winning over France and England to his cause. Having collected in the island of Terceira a sufficient number of adherents, especially from the ranks of Dom Miguel's enemies, he landed in Oporto which he was able to hold for his daughter, 1832. The next year Dom Miguel's fleet was defeated by the English under Napier, and Lisbon opened the gates to Dom Pedro. The subjection of the country was completed in 1834. Dom Miguel abandoned his claims, and died in Germany (Henbach) 1868.

Dom Pedro died in 1834. The accession of his daughter brought no peace to the country. Revolutions and counter-revolutions followed each other in quick succession. Neither the Queen nor the nobility nor the people possessed any knowledge of constitutional government. The party in power proscribed its opponents, whilst the party in opposition invariably appealed to arms. Each successive government repudiated the financial arrangements of its predecessor, and Portuguese credit fell to the lowest ebb. The era of civil wars came to a close in 1852. Maria da Gloria was succeeded by her son Pedro. His brother Luis followed in 1861, and Luis' son Charles I. in 1889.

In Brazil Dom Pedro II. was dethroned in 1889 and the South American Empire changed into a republic.

395. Civil War in Spain, 1833-39. — In Spain the revolutionary movement became mixed up with a civil war of succession.

The Bourbon succession in Spain was regulated by the Salic law. According to this law Don Carlos was the legitimate heir. But under the influence of his second wife, the ambitious Christina of Naples, Ferdinand VII. abolished the Salic law in favor of Christina's daughter Isabella without even informing his brother Don Carlos. The dying Ferdinand appointed Christina regent for Isabella, 1833. Don Carlos, who had withdrawn to Portugal, assumed the title of Charles V. As the Catholics, "the apostolic party," supported the claims of Don Carlos, Christina sought the support of the Liberals and Freemasons. Her minister Martinez de la Rosa gave the country a constitutional government, the Estatuto Real or Royal Ordinance of 1834. He concluded a quadruple alliance comprising Spain, Dom Pedro of Portugal, Palmerston and Louis Philip, for the expulsion of Dom Miguel and Don Carlos from Portugal. The Carlist general Zumalacarregui displayed extraordinary power and genius in organizing the mountaineers of Biscaya into a disciplined army of 28,000 men, which for seven years held its ground against the Christinos, whilst Cabrera fought in Catalonia and Merino in Castile. Middle and Southern Spain held aloof. Zumalacarregui fell in 1835. Don Carlos though high-minded and virtuous, possessed little capacity for ruling. Without military talent, but an adept in the art of burning and devastating, the Christino General Espartero imparted to the war a character of vandalism. In 1839 Espartero became master of the rising, not by any feat of arms, but by intrigues and the treachery of General Maroto, who came over to his camp with twenty-one battalions. The Treaty of Bergera, 1839, guaranteed to the Basque provinces their Fueros or ancient liberties. Don Carlos and Cabrera passed into France. In 1845 Don Carlos abdicated in favor of his son Don Carlos. He died in Trieste, 1855.

396. Further Revolutions in Spain. — Meanwhile the Christinos themselves had split into two parties, the Moderates and the Radicals (Progressistos). The latter came to power in 1835. Whilst the Radical mob stormed and burned monasteries and convents, massacred its inmates, and committed other brutalities worthy of the Reign of Terror, the ministers suppressed the religious orders and declared all the monastic estates national property. In Andalusia the guards revolted in 1836, arrested the Queen Regent in her sleeping apartments, and forced upon her the Constitution of

1812, which was exchanged for a moderate one in 1837. In the progress of the revolution Christina, whose private life was a public scandal, was compelled to abdicate, and Espartero made himself regent, 1840. With him came pronunciamentos and insurrections of rival generals after the style of the South American republics. In 1843 a fusion of Moderates and Republicans overthrew him, and the Cortes declared Isabella II. of age. In Spain as in Portugal the Liberal government carried out the first article of the revolutionary creed: the oppression of the Church. It was only the deep-rooted faith of the Spanish people which saved the nation from a schism. With General Narvaez at the head of affairs, better days dawned upon the distracted country. In 1845 he issued the third and the best Constitution which Spain had seen within the last ten years. To his energetic administration are due the few years of peace and prosperity which, though not without many interruptions, Spain enjoyed from 1845 to 1868.

See Books to § 1. — Henningsen: *A Twelve Months' Campaign with Zumalacarregui.* — M. Burke Honan: *The Court and Camp of Don Carlos.*

§ 5.

ENGLAND AFTER THE JULY REVOLUTION.

397. Parliamentary Reform. — George IV. died in 1830. His eldest surviving brother succeeded him as William IV. The July Revolution gave a fresh impulse to the Parliamentary reform which had been brewing for some time in the minds of the people. The movement proceeded from the middle classes against the aristocratic land owners who filled the two Houses of Parliament. As an instance, there were fifty-six "rotten boroughs" with either no inhabitants (Old Sarum, Gatton), or with only a few, holding 143 seats in Parliament, whilst large cities of recent growth like Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, were unrepresented. The reform movement induced Wellington to resign. Lord John Russell's Reform Bill of 1831, repeatedly thrown out by the Lords, but backed by a violent agitation in the country, by threats of physical force, and by fierce riots in Bristol, finally passed the Upper House in 1832. By this first Reform Act 143 boroughs lost one or both members, and the seats thus obtained were given to large towns, counties, or new boroughs. A similar reform was extended to Ireland and Scotland. About this time the Whigs began to call themselves Liberals, the Tories, Conservatives.

398. Abolition of Slavery, 1833. — The year 1833 saw the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. The slave trade had been abolished by England in 1807, condemned by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and declared illegal by France in 1819. Philanthropists like Wilberforce, Clarkson, Buxton and others extended the agitation from the question of slave trade to that of slavery itself and brought it to a successful issue in 1833; 20,000,000*l.* were voted to indemnify the slaveholders.

399. Accession of Queen Victoria, 1837–X. — William IV. died in 1837 and was succeeded by his niece, Princess Victoria, the daughter of the Duke of Kent. Her dignity and grace won her general popularity. In 1844 she married Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, who enjoyed the title of Prince Consort but obtained no official position. Yet by his personal accomplishments he proved the wisest counsellor of his Queen and largely promoted education and industrial science in England. The succession of Victoria brought about the separation of Hanover from England. As the Salic law excluded female succession in Hanover, the last surviving brother of William IV., Ernest August, Duke of Cumberland, became King of Hanover.

400. The Rebellion in Canada, 1837–39. — The first Parliament of Queen Victoria had to deal with a rebellion in Lower or Western Canada. The government of the Canadas was in the hands of a few powerful families. Each of the two Canadas had a separate system of government consisting of a Governor or executive, a Legislative Council whose members were appointed for life by the Crown, and a representative Assembly chosen by the people. As it was, the majority of the Legislative Council, "the British party" was constantly thwarting the resolutions of the Assembly representing the vast majority of the French population. Race and religion also sharpened the opposition. The colonies, therefore, demanded that the Legislative Council should be made elective and have a voice in the disposal of the public money. To proclaim and remedy the grievances of the colony, Mr. Louis Joseph Papineau, the highly respected leader of the French inhabitants, held numerous meetings and conventions. Thereupon the Governor issued warrants for the

apprehension of many members of the popular Assembly on the charge of high treason. The resistance offered to these arrests finally burst into open rebellion, which was put down by the military with considerable shedding of blood in Lower Canada. In Upper Canada the rising was insignificant.

401. The Union. — The English Parliament, meanwhile, suspended the Constitution of Lower Canada, and sent Lord Durham to the colony to restore order. Lord Durham acted as dictator, issuing amnesties, decrees of exile to Bermuda, threats of execution, all with magnificent disregard of laws and precedents. His measures roused a storm of opposition in Parliament, and led to his recall. Parliament, however, acted upon his report, and decreed the union of the two provinces. The French inhabitants, at the time prostrated by the rebellion, were unable to prevent the measure. The union gave to all Canada one Governor and one Legislature, the Upper House to be nominated by the Crown, the Lower House elected by the people. French was abolished as the official language. But the compact reorganization of the French voters enabled them to bring about the repeal of the statute proscribing the French language, to obtain their full share in the government, and to maintain their separate Catholic schools and their splendid Catholic establishment. French Canada, so lately in revolt, became the basis of the Conservative party, whilst British Canada became the stronghold of the Liberals.

402. The Chartist Movement. — The reformed Parliament labored in the interests of the middle classes to whom it owed its origin. The poor and laboring classes derived little or no benefit from its legislation. The new poor-law, passed in 1834, by its regulations for the work-houses branded the poor as outcasts. These places were commonly hotbeds of corruption and immorality. Too frequently the religious treatment of poor Catholics, both adults and children, in these establishments was infamous in practice, though not sanctioned by law. The misery of the workingmen and their families in the large industrial cities was frightful. Thousands of them were forced to live in wretched quarters and damp cellars. In a great meeting near Birmingham the workingmen sought redress in the form of a petition. This People's Charter, as it was called, demanded annual Parliaments, manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, abolition of the property qualification in members of Parliament, salaries for members of the Commons, and equal electoral districts. It was in many points the American system.

The petition was presented to Parliament in 1839. But the changes proposed were too sudden and radical to be practical. Parliament refused to even take the petition into consideration. The local riots which followed its rejection, especially at Birmingham and Newport, were easily suppressed, and the leaders after being sentenced to death were transported for life, 1840.

403. Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846. — One source of suffering to the poor, however, was removed because it also injured the trade of the middle classes: the exorbitant price of corn caused by the high import duties. In 1838 an Anti-corn League was formed under the able leadership of Richard Cobden and John Bright. Daniel O'Connell also joined the movement and became one of its principal orators. The House of Lords, exclusively composed of landowners, was the chief obstacle in the way of reform. Gradually, however, all classes became convinced that without the repeal of the corn laws the population, which was rapidly increasing by immigration, would be exposed to famine. This fear received a terrible illustration by the Irish famine of 1845–47, caused by the failure of the potato crop, the chief food of the poorer classes. The famine strewed the high roads of Ireland with the dead and the dying, and reduced its population from 8,000,000 to 5,000,000. Robert Peel who had come into office in 1840 to maintain the corn laws, was the very man who, convinced of the necessity of the measure, won over a sufficient number of lords, to secure, after several fruitless efforts, the repeal of the corn laws in 1846. But the Conservatives did not forgive Robert Peel his change of front. Already during the debate D'Israeli, afterwards Lord Beaconsfield, had launched a personal attack full of the fiercest invective, at the "traitor." This philippic at once pushed the young statesman into prominence. On the very day of Peel's triumph, June 25, a coercion bill, one of those characteristic measures of the English Parliament which were intended to legislate the starving Irishmen into submissive silence, came up for the third reading. For once the most bitter Conservatives joined their votes to those of O'Connell's party, to have their revenge by overwhelming Robert Peel and his ministry. Lord John Russell took his place with Palmerston for foreign affairs.

404. **The Irish Famine.** — In Ireland the famine lasted till 1847. There were districts in which the people died by hundreds daily from famine-fever,

dysentery and sheer starvation. The poor-houses were overcrowded. Very many lay down on the pavement and died there. Girls and women flocked to towns and broke the windows of shops merely to obtain prison-food for a few days. The government oscillated between relief, experiments, and coercion bills. The English people, however, made up for the failings of their law-makers. In every larger city and town subscription lists were opened and the most liberal contributions received. National relief associations were formed, all denominations taking part in the work of charity. Relief gradually poured in from all countries. The United States detailed war vessels to carry grain and other food to the starving people. The Irish famine, in its consequences, led to the abolition of some of the worst features of landlordism and turned a mighty stream of Irish immigration towards North America.

Wright: *Life and Reign of William IV.* — On Reform Bill: *Earl Grey's Corresp. with William IV.* — J. McCarthy: *The Epoch of Reform*, E. R. 67, 2. — *Lives of Queen Victoria* by: Johnston (1892), Fawcett (1895), Arnold, (1896), Holmes (1897). — Martin: *Life of the Prince Consort.* — Gonner: *The Early Hist. of Chartism 1836-39.* — Bryce: *Short Hist. of the Canadian People.* — J. C. Dent: *The Story of the Upper Canada Rebellion.* — Bourinot: *Manual of the Constit. Hist. of Canada.* — *Sir Rob. Peel* by J. McCarthy; M. L. Taylor; Walpole. — Morley: *Life of Rich. Cobden.* — C. A. Vince: *John Bright*, E. R. '82, 1. — B. B. O'Brien: *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland, 1831-81.* — S. Gavan Duffy: *Four Years of Irish Hist. 1845-49; Young Ireland, 1840-50.* — O'Brien: *Great Famine in Ireland and Retrospect* (1845-95). — A. M. Sullivan: *New Ireland.* — B. Barry O'Brien: *The Irish Agrarian War, 1830-1880*, M. '82, 1. — Rt. Rev. Spalding: *Mission of the Irish People.* — Thébaud, S. J.: *The Irish Race.*

§ 6.

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL ON THE CONTINENT.

405. Catholic Revival in France. — The Catholic revival in France began in the reign of Louis XVIII., when Chateaubriand, de Maistre, de Bonald fearlessly proclaimed the Catholic religion and the Holy See as the only secure foundation on which to restore civil society. In 1833 the learned Ozanam founded the Society of St. Vincent of Paul. His idea was to oppose the reigning Voltairianism by the service of God in the service of the poor, and to create a means of reconciliation in the struggle between the classes and the masses. His appeals found a mighty response among the educated classes. In the course of time 7,000 members were personally visiting and aiding 20,000 poor in the city of Paris. Before 1848, 500 conferences or local organizations were working in France, whilst the Society was firmly established in England, Belgium, Spain, North America, and other countries. The Society of the Propagation of the Faith founded at Lyons in 1822 counted

700,000 members in 1841. The number of religious more than doubled over what it had been before the outbreak of the Revolution. Dominican and Jesuit and other orators like Frayssinous, Lacordaire, Berryer, and Ravignan, filled the Cathedral of Notre Dame with the élite of Parisian society. No country sent so many missionaries and martyrs into the heathen missions as France. Catholic literature and journalism had their eminent representatives in Montalembert, de Falloux, Ozanam, Louis Veuillot, and others. The Catholic Circle under the patronage of Mgr. d'Affre, Archbishop of Paris, and of many distinguished laymen, formed a center for Catholic young men who came to Paris in search of higher education. A brilliant array of Catholic deputies under the leadership of Montalembert, defended the rights of the Church in the Chamber, whilst the firmness of the bishops, foremost among them Cardinal de Bonald, Archbishop of Lyons, resisted, on the whole successfully, repeated attempts to revive Gallicanism in the seminaries.

406. **Political and Religious State of Germany.** — The political history of Germany almost down to the year 1848, is the history of monarchical reaction not only against revolutionary excesses but against the just demands and rights of the people. The men who had roused the enthusiasm of the nation in the war of liberation had to make room for a tribe of narrow-minded bureaucrats. Prominent patriots, like Joseph Goerres, the greatest publicist of Germany, whom Napoleon had called the Fifth Power of Europe, were subjected to the most contemptible forms of persecution. The territorial assemblies established in the Congress of Vienna were allowed no power or influence. The Diet of Frankfort became a political machine in the hands of Austria and Prussia for the promotion of their dynastic interests. The Catholic Church well-nigh banished from public life, deprived of her freedom of action, her property, her monasteries and schools, betrayed by some of her own prelates and priests, and paralyzed by the indifferentism of the masses, was allowed a precarious existence as the handmaid of the State, a sort of higher police institution. Especially in Prussia, the ministers of the crown in their aim of protestantizing its Catholic subjects, carried into every branch of the administration the pernicious principle, that the King is the source of *all* rights, political and religious, for Protestants and Catholics alike.

407. **Beginning of the Revival.** — Whilst the oppression of the Church issued from the high places, the revival started from the very heart of the people. In 1800 Count Leopold of Stolberg embraced the Catholic faith. His sterling character and his great work, "The History of Religion,"

attracted widespread attention to his conversion. Protestants of the highest standing in literature and art (Overbeck, Cornelius, later Frederic von Schlegel, Gfrörer, etc.) followed his example. The unmeasured attacks made on the Catholic Church and her new converts during the jubilee of the Reformation, 1817, roused the Catholics from their torpor, and called forth energetic refutations in books, pamphlets, and periodicals. Joseph Goerres, with his powerful style and cutting irony, stood in the front ranks of the defenders of the faith. The followers of the Romantic school in Germany, like Ozanam in France, and Walter Scott in England, produced a fairer and truer appreciation of the Catholic Middle Ages. But no event had a greater influence on the Catholic revival of Germany than the "Koeln affair" of 1837.

408. The Koeln Affair. — A cabinet order in force in Silesia under which children of mixed marriages were to be educated in the religion of their father, was extended in 1825 to the Rhine provinces and to Westphalia. The Catholic clergy refused to comply with the order. At the request of the government the bishops asked for instructions from the Holy See. Pius VIII., in an Apostolic Brief, gave the only possible decision, that children of mixed marriages were to be educated in the Catholic religion, a decision which Gregory XVI. confirmed. Thereupon Ferdinand of Spiegel, Archbishop of Koeln, and three of his suffragans without any knowledge on the part of the Holy See, entered into a secret conspiracy with the Prussian government practically to ignore the Papal Brief. The Bishop of Trier, one of the signers of the secret Convention, repented on his death-bed and informed the Pope of the plot. Minister Bunsen who had represented the government in this dishonest transaction, had the effrontery to deny the fact as an impossibility. Archbishop Spiegel was succeeded by Clement Droste of Vischering, a prelate of unimpeachable loyalty to his duty and his Church. As soon as he discovered the secret Convention, he sent a declaration to Berlin, that he would strictly carry out the Brief of Pius VIII. The government now dropped the mask, and on November 20, 1837, arrested the fearless Archbishop with a great display of military force and conveyed him to the fortress of Minden. He was charged with violating his engagements with the government, undermining the laws, and maintaining connections with two revolutionary parties. The following year Archbishop Dunin of Gnesen was arrested for the same fidelity to the laws of the Church, and confined in the fortress of Colberg.

409. The Triumph of Right. — The intense excitement caused in Germany and in the entire Catholic world by the arrest of the Archbishop was in itself a clear indication, how much public Catholic sentiment had grown since the days of Napoleon. Gregory XVI. in December, 1837, held a powerful allocution which was received with enthusiasm by the Catholics of Europe and America. The remaining two bishops who had signed the secret Convention, withdrew their signatures. The Prussian government tried to justify its measures, but the Holy See published documents which allowed of no contradiction. The National Council of Baltimore sent words of admiration and encouragement to the "new Confessors of the Faith." Joseph Goerres in his "Athanasius" and his "Triarier" triumphantly refuted the arguments of the government and of the anti-Catholic press. The government was defeated on the whole line. The Catholic practice as outlined in the Brief of Leo XII. was everywhere restored.

When the large-minded Frederic William IV. succeeded his father in 1840, the Archbishop of Gnesen, previously released, was at once allowed to return to his see. The Archbishop of Koeln was restored to full liberty and by a public letter of the King acquitted of all charges which the former government had raised against him. To facilitate the work of peace Gregory XVI. persuaded the Archbishop to accept the bishop of Speier, afterwards Cardinal Geissel, as coadjutor and administrator of the diocese with the right of succession, whilst Mgr. Droste remained Archbishop in right and fact. The venerable prelate by his work on "Peace between Church and State," and Frederic William IV. by his generous gifts for the restoration of the Cathedral of Koeln sealed the reconciliation. A pilgrimage of 1,500,000 persons to the Holy Robe of Christ in the city of Trier, 1844, was a splendid proof of the growing devotion of the people. Fresh troubles arose, such as, Ronge's German-Catholic revolt, small in numbers but strong in malice, the Protestant Alliance, new encroachments on the rights of the Church by the officialdom of Prussia; but the Catholics were now prepared for effective resistance, and the revival of 1837 bore its fruit throughout the century.

O'Meara: *Life and Works of Ozanam.* — R. Parsons: *Ozanam; Montalembert and the Struggle for Freedom of Education in France,* Studies V. — B. F. C. Costello, M. A: *Fr. Ozanam* (Cath. Truth Soc. Publications); *An Anniversary* 1833–'83 (Soc. of St. Vincent of Paul), M. '83, 2. — Wilstach: *Montalembert.* — *Religious Revival in Germany:* W. Ward: *Life of Card. Wiseman,* v. I. — Pfülf: *Card. Geissel.* — Jos. Goerres: *Athanasius; Die Triarier.* — *Church Histories,* by Card. Hergenroether, Brück, Alzog. (Engl.).— Brück: *Germ. Eccl Hist. in the 19th Century* (Germ.).

§ 7.

THE ROMEWARD MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

410. **The Oxford Movement.** — The Church of England in the first three decades of the century presented a picture of utter worldliness and corruption. Rationalism was undermining its teaching. The Liberal government made its sees an object of political barter. This state of affairs induced a number of Oxford professors, all learned men of high intellectual attainments, to start a reform movement within the established church. They hoped to be able by prayer, frequent communion, sermons and writings and by the power of a good example to infuse a new life into the decaying establishment. The movement began under the leadership of Edward B. Pusey in 1833, when John Newman issued the first "Tracts for the Times." (Puseyites, Tractarians.) The Tractarians drew their inspiration from the works of the ancient Fathers and the Lives of Catholic Saints. The movement soon spread beyond the limits of the University and attracted the attention of the whole country. Newman's lectures on the Via Media, begun in 1835, sought a middle ground between the Papacy and Protestanism. By 1838 the leading Tractarians publicly condemned the Protestant Reformation.

411. The Romeward Movement, 1839–45. — In 1839 Newman abandoned the anti-Roman basis of the Via Media and began to look towards Rome. The more advanced Tractarians sought for a corporate reunion with Rome on the basis of mutual concessions. In this state of mind Newman in 1841 published his celebrated Tract No. 90, in which he endeavored to show that the thirty-nine articles were capable of being reconciled with the decrees of the Council of Trent. The Tract caused a tremendous excitement throughout the country. A storm of protests and censures poured in from university authorities, Anglican bishops, and political writers. At the request of the bishop of Oxford, Newman discontinued the Tracts. He withdrew from the University and retired to his living, St. Mary's, Littlemore. Two years later he published a formal retraction of all the hard things which he had said of the Church of Rome and resigned his living. With a number of friends he established at Littlemore a sort of religious community engaged in exercises of piety and literary labors.

The opposition to Tract No. 90 disrupted the Oxford movement into two camps. Pusey and his adherents deprecated any union with the Catholic Church. George W. Ward became the acknowledged leader of the

Romeward movement during Newman's voluntary seclusion. In this camp the conviction daily grew that the idea of corporate reunion must give way to that of simple submission to Rome.

412. The Crisis, 1845. — In 1844 Ward published "the Ideal of a Christian Church," in which Rome was practically acknowledged as the divinely appointed guardian of religious truth. The animus of the work was clearly outlined in the author's expressed desire to see the English Church "repenting in sorrow and bitterness of heart her great sin of the sixteenth century, and suing at the feet of Rome for pardon and restoration." The "Ideal Church" raised a second and still fiercer storm of opposition than Tract No. 90. A convocation of over 1,100 university men, held at the Sheldonian Theater on February 13, 1845, condemned select passages of the "Ideal," and degraded Mr. Ward from his University degrees. The condemnation of Tract No. 90 was prevented only by the veto of the Proctors.

413. Exodus of Tractarians. — The events just described led to the first exodus of Tractarians from the Anglican Church in 1845. Ward, Newman, Frederic William Faber, Oakely, and many more, made their submission to the Catholic Church, and were confirmed by Bishop Wiseman. Newman's reception proved the signal for large numbers to follow. Gradually 900 Tractarians made their profession of the Catholic faith, and the stream of individual conversions steadily increased. A number of neophytes joined the various religious orders. In 1850 a decision of the Privy Council, in opposition to the decision of the bishops, forced upon the Anglican Church a clergyman (Mr. Gordon), who denied baptismal regeneration. This measure and a powerful Pastoral of Bishop Wiseman, led to a new accession of Tractarians to the Catholic Church, including Archdeacon (afterwards Cardinal) Manning. Later on the number of converts swelled to many thousands.

414. Establishment of the English Hierarchy. — There had been, from the start, a marked coldness founded on differences of education and traditions, between the old English Catholics and the Neophytes. Many Catholics with whom the penal laws were yet a vivid reminiscence, suspected the sincerity of the converts. But events

soon happened which helped to draw together all who bore the Catholic name. In September, 1850, Pius IX. created Nicholas Wiseman, Cardinal and Archbishop of Westminster, erected eight suffragan bishoprics with English titles and thus restored the Catholic hierarchy in England. The Vicars Apostolic who had since the Reformation received episcopal consecration, had borne foreign titles (in partibus infidelium). As soon as the news arrived that the Pope had distributed "English titles," the country began to resound with angry protests against the "Papal aggression." Lord John Russell in an inflammatory letter addressed to the bishop of Durham gave point and direction to the agitation. The day after the letter appeared, noisy demonstrations and "Guy Fawkes" processions were held throughout the country. For a time effigies of the Pope and of the Cardinal were carried about every day and burnt somewhere and tumultuous meetings held to denounce the action of the Pope. The Cardinal himself was hooted and stoned in the streets. Something like 7,000 of such meetings were held before the end of the year. It showed, however, a distinct advance in public feeling since the Gordon riots, that in all these noisy meetings no blood was shed and no outrage committed against the Catholics. An appeal of Cardinal Wiseman to the English people did much by its calm and powerful reasoning to allay the storm and to obtain a hearing for the other side. The ministers, however, thought it necessary to satisfy the public clamor by some piece of legislation. Accordingly the "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill" was introduced in Parliament in 1851. It inflicted a penalty of 100*l*. on persons assuming English titles and invalidated their deeds. The bill considerably trimmed down became a law after a six months' debate. The clause invalidating deeds had been dropped. The penalty of 100*l*. was retained but never inflicted. The law was from the beginning to the end a dead letter, and was quietly removed from the statute book twenty years later under Gladstone's ministry.

415. **Results.** — The numerical increase of English Catholics was not the only nor the chief result of the Catholic revival. The Oxford movement had done much to dispel deep-seated prejudices. The Catholic name, hitherto hated or despised, began to be respected in all classes of society. When the number of converts included men like Cardinals Newman and Manning, seven members of the Privy Council, thirty-three Peers, eighty-two Commoners,

1,051 members of the nobility, 154 representatives of the army and the ministry of war, among them a field marshal, six generals and several major-generals, twenty-nine representatives of the navy, among them seven admirals, besides numerous clergymen, judges, barristers, doctors, authors, etc., the Catholic Church secured a social standing in England as she had never enjoyed since the days of Mary Tudor. Of greater importance was the foundation of colleges, seminaries, schools, hospitals, and other charitable or missionary institutions, the multiplication of religious orders, the complete ecclesiastical organization of the country and the new and hearty adherence of the Church in England to the Holy See under three successive Cardinals, Wiseman, Manning, and Vaughan. This Catholic pulsation is still attracting the attention of multitudes outside the Church to the highest truths and instilling into whole masses of Englishmen religious beliefs, devotions, and Catholic ideals which had been expelled from England by the Protestant Revolution.

W. Ward: *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement; W. G. Ward and the Cath. Revival; Life of Card. Wiseman.* — Wilfrid Wilberforce: *W. G. Ward,* D. R., '94, 3. — Cardinal Newman: *Apologia pro vita sua; Hist. of My Religious Opinions; Letters and Correspondence (1890).* — H. J. Jennings: *Card. Newman, The Story of His Life.* — R. Parsons: *The Oxford Movement,* Studies V. — Heuser: *Card. Newman,* A. C. Q. 15. Purcell: *Life of Card. Manning.* — K. Paul: *Dr Pusey,* M. '94, 3. — W. G. Gorman: *Converts to Rome.*— Robert Ornsby, M. A.: *Memoirs of James Hope-Scott of Abbotsford.*

§ 8.

FRANCE AFTER THE JULY REVOLUTION.

416. Internal State of the July Monarchy. — Louis Philip lacked the historical right of the Bourbons, the plebiscite of the revolutionary government, and the military glory of the Empire, elements which had strengthened former governments. The Chamber was unpopular, because elected by a small minority. The property qualification of the franchise was so high that little more than 200,000 persons enjoyed the right of voting. The use which the government made of 130,000 places at its disposal led to corruption. Accordingly the Chamber was constantly exposed to the outside attacks of the different factions. Repeated revolts of Bonapartists and Republicans, insurrections of 200,000 socialists and laborers in Lyons, a rising of the Legitimists in the Vendée stirred up by the Duchess of Berry indicated the precarious tenure of the crown. In 1832 a shot was fired at the King, the first of the many unsuccessful attempts upon his life. The worst of them was the explosion of an infernal machine in 1834 which killed eighteen persons and wounded forty-one, whilst the King and his sons were saved only as by miracle. In 1842 the dynasty suffered a great loss in the death, by a violent fall from his horse, of the Duke of Orleans, the King's eldest son. Besides, Prince Louis Napoleon made two adventurous attempts

to get himself proclaimed Emperor, the first at Strassburg (1836), which led to his banishment to America; the second at Boulogne which made him prisoner at Ham. In 1846 he contrived to escape from his prison in the disguise of a mason. These attempts served to consolidate the Bonapartists who had hitherto cooperated with the Republicans, into a distinct political party.

Meanwhile the Socialists and Communists, Saint Simon, Constant, Louis Blanc, Fourier, Proudhon, were carrying on their own pernicious propaganda. They preached a science without religion, a family without marriage, a State without government, a community of goods in which private ownership was declared theft, and the complete overthrow of the existing order.

417. Conquest of Algeria. — Algeria had been taken in the last days of Charles X. Between 1830 and 1836 the occupation of the province was alternately restricted and enlarged according to the changing fortunes of the desultory warfare between the army of occupation and Abd-el-Kader, the great chief of the Kabyles. The Kabyles were a powerful Barbary tribe which, though Christian in earlier times, had been forced by the conquering Arabs to accept the Islam. General Bugeaud after the battle of Sikkah, 1836, infused greater energy into the contest. In the campaign of 1841–42 General La Moricière secured two-thirds of Oran, while General Changarnier had equal success in Algeria. Marshal Bugeaud accomplished the definite conquest of Algeria. Under his successor, the Duke d'Aumale, Lamoricière captured Abd-el-Kader in 1847, and Marshal Randon organized the Grand Kabyly as a province of France.

Unfortunately the policy of the French governments erected an insurmountable barrier between the French colonists and the native tribesmen which made their conversion and civilization impossible. It was left to Cardinal Lavigérie, at a later period, to break down this barrier and to open Algeria and Northern and Central Africa to evangelization and civilization. Abd-el-Kader was released by Napoleon III. in 1852 and sent to Asia Minor.

418. Foreign Complications — The Eastern Question. — Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, the most powerful of the Sultan's vassals, aided by the warlike qualities of his son, Ibrahim Pasha, wrested Syria from Turkey, 1831–33. After a declaration of war by Sultan Mahmoud, Ibrahim Pasha again won an overwhelming victory at Nisibis on the Euphrates over the Turkish army, 1839. The

death of Sultan Mahmoud in the same year was followed by the treacherous surrender of the Turkish fleet to Egypt by its admiral. The Viceroy of Egypt, relying on France, where he had a strong support in M. Thiers and his war party, demanded from the young Sultan Abdul Medjid (1839–61), the hereditary investiture with all the lands actually in his power. Without foreign aid Turkey was lost. Under these circumstances, England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia formed a Quadruple Alliance, excluding France from this concert of Powers. The land and sea forces of the allies compelled Mehemet Ali to give up his claims and to confine himself to Egypt, whose possession, however, was made hereditary. A Convention to this effect was signed in London. Thiers, the minister of Louis Philip, suspected that England was bent upon driving Mehemet Ali out of Egypt and keeping the country herself. His opposition to the arrangement of the Quadruple Alliance threatened for a time a European war. But the King of France and M. Guizot were in favor of peace. Accordingly Thiers had to resign, Guizot formed a new ministry and France signed the treaty of London, 1841. Guizot remained at the head of affairs till the fall of Louis Philip.

419. The Revolution in Switzerland. — In 1846 the leaders of the international Revolution were preparing for a new united effort throughout Europe. It first broke out in Switzerland. This country, like England, was an asylum for revolutionary fugitives from every land. Their secret plottings still more increased the radicalism of a number of Swiss Cantons. The suppression of monastic orders in Aargau and other high-handed measures against the Catholic Church induced the Catholic Cantons to think of defensive measures. Four Cantons, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zug had maintained their Catholic governments. The votes of three other Cantons, Luzern, Freiburg, and Upper Wallis ousted their radical governments and elected Catholic magistrates. The excitement caused by these steps in the radical Cantons increased when the government of Luzern called the Jesuits into the country to conduct the higher education. With the silent approval of the radical Cantons armed bands of volunteers invaded Luzern to overthrow the Catholic government. After two attacks had been successfully repulsed the seven strictly Catholic Cantons formed the "Sonderbund" a

separate confederation for the defense of their constitutional rights, 1846. The great Powers were fully aware that a victory over the Sonderbund would be a victory over the cause of right and order. But England's anti-Catholic policy prevented any interference in favor of the Sonderbund. Thus violence prevailed over right. The Catholic Cantons were defeated, and forced to accept anti-Catholic magistrates. A Federative Council in 1848 at Bern greatly curtailed the self-government of all the Swiss Cantons.

Other signs of an impending Revolution were not wanting. The secret societies had never ceased to undermine the existing order of things, though in France they had received a check in 1838. The Freemasons published their "Orders of the Day" at Brussels, whence they were secretly spread through France. In 1846 a general reorganization was effected and preparatory steps for a general European outbreak were taken. In the autumn of 1847, Germany witnessed a great Congress of European Freemasonry, many of whose leaders took part in the events of 1848. Garibaldi started from South America for Europe, Mazzini made ready to leave London. Disturbances in Milan, outbreaks in Messina and Palermo, an attempted insurrection in Calabria were but the preliminary rumblings of the general European upheaval which began in Paris in the February days of 1848.

Guizot: *Memoirs to Illustrate the Hist. of My Own Time; Last Days of the Reign of Louis Philip:* — Walpole; Fyffe. — Abbott: *Louis Philip.* — *The Monarchy of July*, Q. R. '88, 2.— *The Conquest of Algiers*, E. R. '89, 4.— *Marshal Bugeaud, Duke of Isly*, E. R. '83, 4, 97, 1. — Paton: *Hist. of the Egypt. Revol.* — Cretineau Joly: *Hist. de Sonderbund.* — Ulrich: *Der Bürgerkrieg in d. Schweiz.* — Sir F. P. Adams and C. D. Cunningham: *The Swiss Confederation.*

§ 9.

THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION IN FRANCE — THE SECOND REPUBLIC AND THE SECOND EMPIRE.

420. **The February Days, February 22-24, 1848.** — The efforts of the Liberals were ostensibly directed towards a reform of popular representation by a lowering of the property qualifications of the voters. Leaders of different shades, Thiers, Lamartine, Arago, Louis Blanc, and others, had, to all appearances, borrowed the English methods of political agitation, reform banquets, speeches, processions, etc. But behind these demonstrations stood the organized Revolution, the secret societies, the men of the faubourgs, and the Socialists. A prohibition issued by the government against a reform banquet led to a revolt, which became a revolution, and ended in the flight of the King, and the proclamation of the Democratic Republic.

February 22 the people gathered in large numbers to take part in the prohibited demonstration. No collision occurred because the military remained quiet. The concentration of regulars and national guards in the strategical points of the city on the morning of the 23d. told the people that the government had caught the alarm. The secret committees made their arrangements. Towards the evening barricades were thrown up, gunshops plundered, and — a worse sign of disintegration — the national guards began to fraternize with the people. Guizot resigned and made room for Thiers and Odillon Barrot. Before the close of the day a collision occurred between the crowd and the military in which fifty of the people fell. The bodies of the victims were put in wagons and drawn through the streets to inflame the populace; but Marshal Bugeaud assuming command, quietly took the barricades and checked the riots. Next morning, February 24, the new ministers ordered him to withdraw the troops. Thereupon dense masses of insurgents, national guards, armed workingmen and troops of the line fraternizing with the mob rolled from all sides towards the Tuileries, captured on their way the Palais Royal, massacred the guards, and destroyed all the property belonging to the royal family. At the approach of the insurgent people the King was persuaded to abdicate in favor of his grandson, the Count of Paris. Louis Philip and his wife fled to England in disguise as Mr. and Mrs. Smith; other members of the family escaped to Belgium.

421. The Democratic Republic. — A provisional government was formed at the Hotel de Ville. Lamartine and others, who came from the Chamber, never dreamt of a republic. In their mind a future assembly was to determine the form of the government. But the Republicans and Socialists supported by the people in arms carried everything before them. Great and disagreeable was the surprise of the bourgeoisie of Paris when the provisional government proclaimed the Democratic Republic and summoned a Constituent National Assembly to Paris, February 25. To satisfy the Socialists the provisional government engaged to procure work for all citizens, guaranteed the right of association to the workingmen, and decreed that a permanent commission be established for the special purpose of providing for the wants of the working classes. The Socialist

Louis Blanc, a member of government, was appointed president, and Mr. Albert, a workingman, vice-president of this Commission. The provisional government also empowered the minister of public works to open national workshops.

These national workshops were a semi-military organization with graded ranks of salaried officers. Every workman enrolled received thirty sous of daily wages from the public funds whether work was to be had or not. On a single day (May 19), 87,000 persons were enrolled. A month later the enrollment rose to 125,000 men, many of them idlers and agitators. The enrolled men with their families represented 600,000 persons.

422. The "Days of June" 23–26. — The elections by manhood suffrage to the Constituent National Assembly resulted in a conservative majority largely composed of Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists, among them Prince Louis Napoleon himself. The Republican watchword was Liberty, Equality, Fraternity; the victorious opponents rallied for Order, Family, Property. The first important step of the Assembly was the dissolution of the national workshops. This measure led to a most sanguinary insurrection of the socialistic workingmen, which for four days filled the streets of Paris with carnage. The Assembly appointed the Republican General Cavaignac Dictator. Under him fought General Lamoricière. The insurgents were marshaled by leaders of military skill though no one knew who they were. Over 16,000 fell dead or wounded, or were driven into the Seine. Nearly 14,000 prisoners were taken, of whom several thousand died by prison fever. Among the murdered victims was Mgr. d'Affre, the venerable Archbishop of Paris, who was shot by an insurgent from a window whilst mounting a barricade to address the insurgents. The victorious Assembly declared Paris in a state of siege, disarmed the workingmen, closed the 300 revolutionary clubs and passed a law of deportation.

423. Louis Napoleon, President of the Republic. — In the Assembly the debates on the Constitution were protracted for months. They could not agree on the mode of electing the President of the Republic. It was finally determined that the presidential term should be four years and that if no candidate should obtain a majority of votes, the election should devolve to the Assembly. The

Constitution of 1848 was proclaimed November 10. The general elections returned Louis Napoleon by over 5,500,000 votes.

Napoleon owed his election to the peasantry of France, and to the fact that the Legitimists and Orleanists had proposed no candidate of their own for fear of weakening Napoleon's chances and thus throwing the election into the Assembly. For the Assembly would have elected Cavaignac in spite of his Republicanism on account of his services in quelling the socialistic rebellion.

424. **The Coup d'Etat of December 2, 1851.** — The Constitution of 1848 never struck root in France. The feeling was general that the country had been tricked into accepting a republic; that only a monarchical government could save France from new revolutions. Napoleon adroitly turned this feeling to his account. In complicity with a number of close adherents, St. Arnaud, Persigny, Major Fleury, de Maupas, Morny, he gradually concentrated the most reliable troops in and around Paris. On the night of December 1–2, 1851, there issued forth from the State printing office, guarded by a military cordon, proclamations which dissolved the Assembly, proposed a new Constitution, placed Paris and twelve surrounding departments under martial law, and appealed to the army. On the following morning letters of dismissal were handed to the members of government who were not in the plot. The foremost generals of France, Cavaignac, Bugeaud, Lamoricière, Changarnier, etc., several leading statesmen, among them Thiers, eighteen members of the Assembly, and a number of leading Democrats, altogether seventy-eight persons of distinction, were seized at a quarter past six and placed in confinement. Later in the day the members of the Assembly, 220 deputies, upon their refusal to clear the hall were carried off by the military to different fortresses. Another armed force drove the judges of the Supreme Court from the bench because they had impeached the President. The revolts which broke out in the streets of Paris, December 2 and 4, were crushed with some shedding of blood.

A Plebiscite of over 6,000,000 votes, according to reports, elected Louis Napoleon president for ten years with almost monarchical power and conferred upon him the right to issue a new Constitution.

425. The Second Empire, December 2, 1852. — Napoleon lost no time in diverting his increase of power towards the accomplishment of his real aim, the restoration of the Napoleonic Empire. He banished his principal opponents, revived the Constitution of the First Empire, confiscated the appanages of the House of Orleans and issued a decree compelling the members of the royal family to sell

their landed estates in France. The Senate submitted the restoration of the hereditary empire to the acceptance of the people, and the people ratified the restoration with over 7,500,000 votes against some 253,000. Napoleon III. was enthroned on the anniversary of the coronation of Napoleon I., December 2, 1852. All the European Powers acknowledged the Second Empire which Napoleon proclaimed as an empire of peace. As he was desirous of gathering all the conservative elements around his throne, the Church in France entered upon a period of great prosperity and religious zeal. In 1853 Napoleon married Eugénie Montijo, the Spanish Countess of Teba.

Guizot: *France under Louis Philip.* — Lamartine: *Hist. of the Revol. of 1848.* — Causidière: *Secret Hist. of the Revol. of 1848.* — Hodde: *Secret Societies.* — Marquis of Normanby: *A Year of Revol.* — L. Blanc: *Hist. Revelations.* — Corkran: *Hist. of the Constit. Nat. Assembly from May, 1848.* — Tênot: *Paris in December, 1851.* — Maupas: *The Story of the Coup d'Etat.* — Jerrold: *Life of Napoleon III.*

§ 10.

THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION IN ITALY.

426. Pius IX. — In 1846 Maria Mastai Feretti came forth from a conclave of forty-eight hours' duration as Pius IX. Troubled as his Pontificate was destined to become, it was at the same time the longest and one of the most glorious since the "years of St. Peter." A month after his elevation a general amnesty opened Rome and the Pontifical States to the political exiles. Pius IX. inaugurated a series of reforms which were received with enthusiasm. He gave the press greater freedom, constituted a Council of State composed of one representative of each province, admitted laymen into the ministry, and reorganized the old Civic Guards. The people were given a voice in every department of the government. He finally appointed a commission to draw up a Constitution for the Papal States.

A great many of those who availed themselves of the amnesty, requited the Pope's clemency with base ingratitude and treason. They at once reorganized the secret societies and carried on a revolutionary propaganda under the direction of Mazzini. Whilst noisily applauding every new reform, they constantly excited the people for new and more radical concessions. Ciceruacchio, a burly demagogue, stirred up the masses to dis-

orderly demonstrations. The Italian revolutionists at home and abroad were in close relation not only with the democratic conspirators of other countries, but also with Lord Palmerston who had his agents in Rome, Turin, and Naples. Lord Minto, accredited to the Holy See, with a sublime disdain of diplomatic formalities, made his residence the gathering place of the Italian radicals. Metternich, viewing the Papal reforms with marked displeasure, forcibly occupied the city of Ferrara. By thus increasing Italian exasperation against Austria, the most conservative statesman of Europe worked into the hands of Mazzini and of the Revolution.

427. The Rising in Milan. — The February Revolution in Paris was the signal for the long-prepared insurrection in Milan (March 18), where Radetzki, the commander-in-chief of the Austrian provinces, had his headquarters. For five days a desperate conflict was maintained between the garrison and the population in the streets. The insurgents were reinforced by the defection of the purely Italian regiments of the garrison. Radetzki was finally compelled to evacuate Milan and to withdraw to Verona. Milan established a provisional government. Venice at once followed the example of Milan and constituted herself a Republic.

428. War Between Austria and Italy. — The proceedings of Milan and Venice induced Charles Albert to declare war against Austria in order to prevent the establishment of a Republic in revolted Lombardy and to ward off a rising in his own Kingdom. His regular army amounted to 40,000 men. Volunteers flocked to his standard from the different Italian States. Garibaldi joined him with his Italian Legion gathered in South America, and Mazzini arrived from London. Tuscany and Naples declared war jointly with Piedmont. The Roman radicals clamored for the same measure. But Pius IX., as the common father of Christendom, steadfastly refused to go to war. His troops that were sent under General Durando, to guard the frontiers, were strictly forbidden to cross the line, but they disregarded the order of their sovereign. As the whole country was in revolt, it was easy for the Italians to take the Austrian fortress of Peschiera and to follow Radetzki to the walls of Verona. But here the tide turned. A reinforcement under General Nugent, a gallant Irish veteran, swelled the Austrian army to 70,000 men. With these Radetzki first recovered his communication with the rest of Austria by conquering the Venetian mainland. He then crossed the

Adige and advanced to Custozza where he inflicted a crushing defeat on Charles Albert. Custozza decided the fate of Lombardy. Radetzki pursued the retreating Piedmontese whose volunteer battalions were fast melting away to the very walls of Milan. To save his army, Charles Albert evacuated the city, accompanied by the maledictions of the Milanese, while Radetzki entered through the opposite gate. The King of Sardinia obtained an armistice and was glad to retire behind the Ticino.

Notwithstanding these events, Garibaldi with his 4,000 volunteers of Young Italy, loudly declared a "war of the people" against Austria, but in a few days his 4,000 Redshirts dwindled down to 800. The Italian situation towards the end of 1848 may be summed up as follows: An armed truce between Austria and Sardinia kept the regular armies in check in Northern Italy; the Republic of Venice was confined to the city; Austria occupied Modena and Parma; secret societies, street murders, and brigandage were reducing Tuscany and the Romagna to a state of anarchy; the island of Sicily, assisted by heavy cargoes of arms from England, was in successful revolt against Naples and its King. England and France protected the Sicilian insurgents against Ferdinand II. who had subdued a revolt in his capital; Rome, the center of the Catholic world, was in the throes of a democratic Revolution.

429. The Revolution in Rome. — The Roman Parliament as granted in the new Constitution was opened June 5. It contained a strong party of radicals led by Sterbini and Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino. Its proceedings consisted of pompous harangues, angry discussions, and little work, as it was domineered over by the populace in the galleries under the engineering of the anarchical Ciceruacchio. Rome was meanwhile fast filling with conspirators from every State. Two weak ministries (Mamiani and Fabbri) successively resigned. In September, Pius IX. called upon the energetic Signor Rossi, former minister of Louis Philip at the Papal court, to form a ministry. Rossi was resolved to carry out and develop the policy of reform inaugurated by Pius IX., but above all things to maintain the authority of the Pontifical government. For this loyalty to Pius IX. the secret societies condemned him to death. When Parliament reopened November 15, Rossi, whilst mounting the steps to the Chamber, was assassinated in the midst of a howling mob.

430. Flight of Pius IX. — On November 16, 20,000 people gathered before the Papal residence at the Quirinal. They demanded the promulgation of the Italian nationality, war against Austria and a radical ministry. Pius IX. refused to give any answer before being allowed to deliberate in entire freedom. Then the crowd began to fire into the Quirinal and to storm the palace. The Pope's private secretary, Mgr. Palma dropped dead, shot in the forehead. But the Pope's Swiss guard stood firm and the mob failed to enter the palace. Having drawn up artillery before the gates, the conspirators sent in their ultimatum: if the Pope does not yield within an hour, they will blow in the gates and massacre every one in the palace except the Pope himself. Thereupon Pius IX. declared to the foreign ambassadors that to avoid useless bloodshed he would cede to force. "So we protest; let your governments know it; we give way to violence only. All we concede is invalid, null, and void." On the night of the 24th Pius IX., dressed as a simple priest and accompanied by Count Spaur, the Bavarian ambassador and his family, succeeded in escaping from revolutionary Rome. Without mishap he arrived at Gaeta, in the territory of Naples, where King Ferdinand and his Queen waited upon the august fugitive to offer him their hospitality and the protection of the Kingdom.

431. **Pius IX. in Gaeta.**— And here his fortitude and the ingratitude of his enemies, most of whom were his beneficiaries, aroused universal sympathy. From the rock of Gaeta Pius IX. issued three great appeals to the Christian world. One the excommunication of the spoilers of the patrimony of the Church; another a protest to all Christian princes against the wrong that had been done; a third to the Episcopate and the faithful throughout the world on the proposed definition of the Immaculate Conception. His appeal to the Catholic Episcopate met with a response testifying to a unanimity of devotion which struck friend and foe alike. The Catholic Powers, too, promptly responded to his appeal, and the plenipotentiaries of France, Austria, Spain, and Naples met at Gaeta, March 20, 1849, and took up the cause of the exiled Pontiff.

432. The Roman Republic. — Meanwhile the Revolution spread rapidly through the Pontifical States, under the usual terrorism of an unscrupulous minority. In Rome Galetti formed the radical ministry demanded by the conspirators. The functions of the sovereign power were intrusted by the Chamber to a Giunta

of Three. The Giunta dissolved the Parliament and summoned a Constituent Assembly. From Gaeta the Pope forbade his subjects to vote for this body, and so effective was his prohibition, that of the 12,000 voters inscribed in Rome only 300 voted. The Assembly thus chosen proclaimed the deposition of Pius IX. and the establishment of a "pure domocracy under the glorious appellation of the Republic of Rome," February 5, 1849. Upon the news of Charles Albert's defeat at Novara the Triumvirate handed over its powers to Mazzini, who for a time ruled the city with almost unlimited sway.

The Roman Republic adopted the methods of the first French Revolution: war against the Church, massacres of priests, the substitution of abandoned women for the Sisters of Charity in the hospitals melting of bells into cannon, seizure of the gold and silver plate from churches and palaces, issues of unlimited quantities of paper money. Most of the stolen millions disappeared in the vortex of the Revolution without leaving a trace. The blasphemous character of the Roman Revolution was sufficiently indicated by the addresses of Armellini calling the people the only sovereign, the *true God;* by placards affixed to churches: "Down with Christ, eviva Barabbas!"; by the sacrilegious festivities in which Mazzini with the aid of excommunicated priests celebrated the triumph of the Republic of Rome in St. Peter's Church, Mazzini himself occupying the Papal throne.

Chev. O'Clery: *Hist. of the Ital. Revol.*, Ch. XI., pp. 193-286; *Lives of Pius IX.* (see ch. XIII., § 8). — Maurice: *The Revol. Movement in Italy, etc.* — Marq. Biddle-Cope: *The Holy See and the Ital. Liberals:* M. 87. 1-2. — B. O'Reilly: *Cesare Cantù and the Neo-Guelphs of Italy:* A. C. Q. v. 7. — *The Italian Revolution,* M. '75. 2.

§ 11.

THE DEFEAT OF THE ITALIAN REVOLUTION.

433. In Northern Italy — Battle of Novara, 1849. — During the time of the armistice between Austria and Piedmont, the radical party overthrew the more moderate ministry of Gioberti in Piedmont. The revolutionary party now in power and considerably strengthened by thousands of Italian, Polish, and French fugitives, again clamored for war with Austria. Charles Albert had to choose between war or the loss of his crown. He preferred war. It lasted only five days. On the resumption of hostilities, March 20, Radetzki first baffled the enemy by his skillful movements, then crossing the Ticino at Pavia, dealt the Piedmontese a severe blow at

Mortara, and hopelessly defeated them in the brilliant action of Novara. Charles Albert abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. On the 24th Victor Emmanuel concluded an armistice with Radetzki, and then peace. Piedmont had to pay the expenses of the war, disband her foreign troops, and withdraw her fleet from the Adriatic. Charles Albert, one of the best rulers of Piedmont, but too weak to cope with the international Revolution, died four months after the disaster of Novara.

434. **Genoa, Venice, and Sicily.** — The humilation of Piedmont encouraged Genoa to snap the bonds with which the Congress of Vienna had tied it to the Kingdom of Sardinia, and to proclaim the Ligurian Republic. General La Marmora put down the revolt (April). In Sicily the insurgents were offered Parliamentary independence by Ferdinand II. and urged, even by the English and French ambassadors, to accept the generous proposals. Rejecting the offer, they were forcibly reduced to submission by General Filangieri who captured Catania and forced Palermo to capitulate (May). The Florentines recalled Archduke Leopold. Venice, the last of the revolted States in northern Italy, was reduced by the Austrians. Radetzki was made Governor-General of the Austrian provinces in Italy. The measures of pacification adopted by the old hero — he was eighty-four years of age when he conquered at Novara — were as mild and prudent as his campaigns had been skillful and bold.

435. France and the Roman Republic. — Meanwhile the hearts of Catholic Europe were burning with indignation at the outrages committed against the Holy Father. Louis Napoleon thought it wise to yield to the growing Catholic sentiment of France, and sent General Oudinot to the relief of the exiled Pontiff. Oudinot landed at Cività Vecchia, gradually disarmed the Republican guards, and issued a proclamation in support of Pius IX. A first attack upon Rome with an insufficient force was repelled. Naples, Austria, and Spain also responded to the appeal of the Pope. The Spanish troops landed at Terracina. The Austrians occupied Bologna and Ancona. But Oudinot's jealousy prevented any co-operation between the different nations. It was this fact and not any mythical victories of Garibaldi which induced the Neapolitans to recross the frontiers.

Napoleon's duplicity began to crop out when he sent M. de Lesseps to Rome to negotiate with the Republicans. The result was a convention

with Mazzini according to which the French troops, without entering Rome, were to encamp in the neighborhood and a plebiscite was to decide whether the Pope should be called back or not. Oudinot indignantly rejected the disgraceful convention as an insult to France, and gave notice that he would begin the attack of Rome, June 4th.

436. The Taking of Rome. — The siege of Rome began June 3. Mazzini relied less on Garibaldi and the Republican corps than on a change of government in France. According to his secret plottings a communistic outbreak in Paris, prearranged for June 13, was to place Ledru Rollin at the head of affairs. Ledru Rollin then would have ordered Oudinot to make common cause with the Republicans instead of fighting them. The miserable failure of the plot and the flight of Ledru Rollin destroyed Mazzini's hopes, and at the approach of danger he packed up the stolen treasures of Rome and fled to London. On the 21st of June, the coronation day of Pius IX., the French occupied the Janiculum. On June 29, St. Peter's day, Oudinot stormed the high ground of Trastevere, which gave him the command of the city of Rome. Garibaldi, accompanied by Ciceruacchio, 4,000 foot and 500 horse, retreated into the Appenines, where many of his followers turned banditti. At San Marino he disbanded the remnants of his force. Oudinot sent Colonel Neal to Gaeta to present the keys of Rome to Pius IX. The Sovereign Pontiff returned in April the following year, and was received by the people with great enthusiasm. With the aid of Cardinal Antonelli, his Secretary of State for the rest of his Pontificate, Pius IX. began to heal the wounds which the international Revolution had inflicted on the Papal States.

Chev. O'Clery: Ch. VII. pp. 287-370. — *Marshal Radetzki:* Caldwell: M., 1876, 2; Pfülf: *St.* 42.

§ 12.

THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, 1848.

437. Extent of the Revolution. — The extent of the international conspiracy was indicated by the rapidity with which upon hearing of the Paris revolution insurrections broke out in almost every European country. In Belgium the King disarmed the Republican movement by openly declaring his readiness to abdicate if the nation would demand it. There were Republican risings in Southern Spain and street fights in Madrid. In

London a Chartist demonstration en masse was nipped in the bud. The insurrection preached by Mitchel in Ireland and planned by "Young Ireland" and other secret societies was quelled before fairly matured, and the leaders, O'Brien and Meagher, were transported. There were disturbances in Sweden, and even in the Danube principalities. But in Austria and in Germany the Revolution assumed most formidable proportions and prepared the way for permanent changes.

438. Outbreak in Germany in March. — The pent-up indignation of the people in Germany of being deprived of all political liberty was quickened by Republican agitators and emissaries of the lodges. The people assembled in mass meetings, demanded freedom of the press, trial by jury, right of organizations, a national guard, and a German Parliament. A Liberal Chamber in Baden took the lead in this reform movement. From Mannheim the movement spread over Germany. Some governments granted these demands; the greater number, especially Prussia, denied them. King Ludwig of Bavaria abdicated in favor of his son Maximilian. In many States the people armed without asking leave, forced unpopular ministers to resign and improvised a preliminary Parliament at Frankfort. A minority of Liberal statesmen and leaders urged the King of Prussia to head a movement for national union. But Frederic William IV. did not favor the idea, and rather entertained the hope of mastering the Revolution by co-operation with Austria. But Austria herself was soon to be shaken to her very foundations.

439. Outbreak in Austria, March. — The February Revolution had brought on a financial panic in Austria. Upon the motion of Kossuth the estates of Hungary voted an address to Austria, declaring the system of the Austrian government as the real cause of the panic, and demanding a responsible ministry for Hungary and a Constitution for every crown land of Austria. Similar demands came from other provinces. In Vienna the rabble stormed and demolished the House of Deputies. When the soldiers fired on the crowds the citizens and students armed and threw up barricades. Metternich, forced to resign, escaped with difficulty from the fury of the populace (March 13–15). On March 15 the Emperor consented to summon a Constituent Assembly. The national guards and the Students' Legion formed a

central committee for the defense of the rights of the people. The demand of the ministers to dissolve the committee led to the second insurrection, May 15. The Emperor fled to Innsbruck. As all the available troops had been sent to Italy which was in full revolt, the entire civil and military government of Vienna fell into the hands of the University students, the National Guards and the laboring classes, who organized a Committee of Public Safety.

440. The March Days in Berlin, 15–19. — The first outbreak at Vienna reacted on Berlin. Disturbances began on March 15. On the 18th the King promised to work for a regeneration of Germany by popular representation. An immense mass of people surged towards the palace ostensibly to thank the King. Provoked by the outcries and insults hurled against them the soldiers fired two shots. With the cry of treason the people scattered in every direction. In an incredibly short time the city was covered with barricades. A murderous fight ensued from street to street. The incensed military, 14,000 strong with 36 cannon, gradually succeeded though with great efforts in dispersing the barricades. Yet on the morning of the 19th the troops upon an order of the King evacuated the city. The people were now masters of the situation. Frederic William IV. was forced to stand bareheaded on the balcony of his palace as the funeral procession of the men whom his soldiers had killed at the barricades marched by. His brother William, who later became Emperor, had to fly to England, the common refuge of Louis Philip and Metternich and other statesmen. The King granted all the popular demands. The prisons were opened. A national guard was organized. For a time liberal ministries changed in quick succession amidst scenes of growing anarchy.

441. The Frankfort Parliament. — From helpless Prussia the German people turned their eyes to the National Assembly, which had meanwhile convened at Frankfort. Its aim was to devise a National Constitution which would harmonize the demands of the people with the interests of the various governments. The Assembly at Frankfort elected Archduke John of Austria Administrator of the Empire with a responsible ministry of his own. The old Confederate Diet recognized this provisional government and then dissolved.

The majority of the members of the Assembly were Monarchists of widely diverging opinions. The minority advocated a Republican Confederation based on the sovereignty of the people. The Assembly frittered away its time and talents in needless speech-making because it could define its relations neither to the different governments nor to the two Constituent Assemblies sitting at the same time in Vienna and in Berlin.

The helplessness of the new National Administration at home and abroad became apparent in the affair of Schleswig-Holstein. The two duchies had risen against Denmark, March, 1848, formed a provisional government, and sent deputies to Frankfort. Prussian troops under General Wrangel were sent to their aid and gained some successes against the Danes. But the losses inflicted on German commerce by the Danish blockade and the remonstrances of Russia and England induced Prussia to conclude a rather humiliating truce. The provisional government and the Assembly of Frankfort in spite of their angry protests had to bow to the accomplished fact. The truce created wide-spread dissatisfaction in Germany. In Frankfort the people excited by democratic agitators made an attempt to overthrow the Parliament and proclaim the Republic. Prince Lichnowski and General Auerwald were murdered by the mob. St. Paul's Church, where the sessions were held, was saved only by the arrival of troops from Mainz. Thus both the Administrator and the Assembly gradually lost their authority.

Alison; Fyffe.— Rose: *A Century of Continental Hist.*— Count Harting: *Genesis of the Revol. in Austria.*— W. H. Stiles: *Austria, 1848-49.*— Leger: *Hist. of Austria-Hungary.*— *Austria, 1848-49.*, E. R., '91, 4. — Maurice: *Revol. Movement of 1848-49.* — Müller: *Political Hist. of Recent Times.* — v. Sybel: *The Founding of the German Empire.* — Gosch: *Denmark and Germany since 1815.* — MacLeod: *The Various Nationalities of the Austrian Domains:* M. '78. 2.

§ 13.

THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION — GENERAL PACIFICATION.

442. Outbreak in Hungary. — The separate ministry which the Emperor had granted to Hungary in the first crash of the Revolution now organized with Count Bathyany as president. Kossuth became minister of finances. Assembled in the Diet of Pesth and presided over by Archduke Stephen, the Hungarians began to sever one after the other the bonds of union with Austria. On the other hand they endeavored to tighten their hold on the Slavonic

dependencies. But the Slavs of the Hungarian crown lands, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Transilvania were unwilling to bear the Magyar yoke. The court of Vienna could not but encourage the Slavonian movement which looked upon the Magyars as rebels. Jellachich, Ban or governor of Croatia, marched against Pesth. Archduke Stephen resigned. The Emperor who had returned to Vienna sent Count Lemberg as Imperial Governor to Hungary. But the mob murdered the Count as he was crossing the bridge to Pesth. Thereupon the Emperor dissolved the Hungarian Diet and appointed Jellachich commander-in-chief for Hungary. But the Revolutionists got the upper hand. Jellachich was defeated by the Honveds or national troops whom Kossuth had raised, and passed into Austria.

443. Third Insurrection in Vienna — Ferdinand's Abdication — Francis Joseph I. — To prevent the imperial troops from going to Hungary the revolutionary party broke out in most furious riots in the streets of Vienna. Latour, the minister of war, was foully murdered. The Emperor fled to Olmütz. The garrison moved outside the city, but held it in siege. At this juncture Windischgrätz, who had quelled the insurrection of Prague, marched upon Vienna and was joined by Jellachich. During the bombardment of the city an army of Honveds hastened to the relief, but was repulsed. The following day, October 31, Vienna surrendered. The city was placed under military control, and a number of democratic leaders were shot (Robert Blum). In December Ferdinand abdicated in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph I. The Assembly was dissolved and a general Constitution, drawn up by the government, was given to the monarchy. The only measure of permanent importance passed by the Constituent Assembly was the abolition of the remaining feudal burdens and the freedom of the soil granted in return for a partial indemnification of the landed aristocracy. After the peasants had obtained this point, they withdrew from the revolutionary agitation.

444. Defeat of the Hungarian Revolution. — The Hungarian Diet refused to acknowledge Ferdinand's abdication. Win-

dischgrätz led an Austrian army into Hungary and occupied Pesth, January, 1849. The Magyar government retired behind the Raab. Under the dictatorship of Kossuth and the generalship of the Hungarians Görgey and Klapka and the Poles Dembinski and Bem the country displayed a surprising power of resistance, which contrasted strikingly with the blundering inability of Windischgrätz.

Beaten in five important engagements, the Austrians had to evacuate Hungary with the exception of Ofen. On March 4, the General Constitution for Austria was proclaimed at Olmütz. It merged Hungary completely with Austria and obliterated its ancient institutions. Thereupon Kossuth issued a Declaration of Independence and declared the Austrian dynasty deposed in Hungary. But whilst political divisions and personal jealousies more and more divided the Hungarian leaders, the Emperors of Austria and Russia agreed upon a Russian intervention and a common plan of operation. The Russians under Rüdiger and Paskewitch appeared in the field with overwhelming numbers. Henceforth all the battles, with one exception, were Hungarian defeats. General Haynau accomplished wonders of daring and leadership, and alone won nearly all the Austrian victories. In the confusion and discord heightened by these disasters Kossuth laid down the chief power, and Görgey, his successor, two days later, surrendered to Rüdiger with 25,000 men and 120 cannon on the field of Vilagos (August 15, 1849). Other corps surrendered unconditionally. Only Klapka, in the defense of Komorn, obtained an honorable capitulation. Haynau held sanguinary and merciless judgments at Pesth and Arad. The long roll of Hungarian leaders condemned to death was headed by Count Bathyany. Andrassy, later Prime Minister of Austria, escaped under sentence of death. Kossuth and other fugitives found refuge, first in Turkey, afterwards in England and America. The Hungarian Constitution of 1848 was abolished and Dalmatia, Croatia, and Transilvania separated from the crown of St. Stephen. The galling memories of 1848 and 1849 were not obliterated until 1867.

445. **Pacification in Prussia.** — An insurrection in Prussian Poland (Posen) was suppressed by force of arms as early as May 4, 1848. In Berlin order was restored when General Wrangel, returning from Schleswig entered the capital at the head of 25,000 men. The city was placed under

military law. The Prussian Constituent Assembly, dispersed by troops in Berlin, was ordered to reconvene at Brandenberg fifty miles from Berlin and there dissolved. The Constitution of December 5, 1848, drawn up by the government and issued by the King, gave Prussia a Parliament of two Chambers. The stringent election law of 1849 silenced the turbulent classes.

446. End of the Frankfort Parliament. — The Assembly of Frankfort finished the Constitution of the German Empire in 1849. But only smaller States were willing to accept it. The question as to who should be elected Emperor rent the Parliament into an Austrian and a Prussian faction. A delegation representing a bare majority offered the imperial crown to the King of Prussia. Frederic William publicly declared he would accept the crown only with the free consent of all the German States, privately, however, he held the Frankfort Assembly and its new crown in the utmost contempt. Thereupon so many deputies left Frankfort or were called off that the Parliament became a rump of radicals. The seceders transferred their meetings to Stuttgart, where they had to submit to a forcible dissolution. This failure of the new Constitution was seized upon by the agitators of the international Revolution as a pretext for new insurrections in favor of a German Republic. The May days of 1849 saw Republican insurrections in Saxony, the Palatinate and Baden where the regulars went over to the revolutionists. The revolt in Dresden was suppressed chiefly by Prussian troops. At the head of 33,000 men, the Prince of Prussia vigorously crushed the insurrection in the Rhine provinces by the capture of Rastadt. Many of the leaders were shot, others escaped to Switzerland and North America (General Siegel, Karl Schurz).

447. Failure of a German Union. — Prussian statesmen now tried another way of arriving at a German Union, this time to the exclusion of Austria. Prussia concluded an alliance with Saxony and Hanover, and some minor States. Austria, on the other hand, supported by the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and backed by the Emperor of Russia, demanded the restoration of the German Confederacy of 1815. For a moment it appeared as if the question of the German Union would lead to war between Austria and Prussia (1849). But in a conference of the representatives of the two Powers at Olmütz (1850) Prussia yielded to all the demands of Austria. Schleswig-Holstein which had, unaided, continued its hopeless

war for independence, was handed back to Denmark. The Conference of Dresden, 1851, re-established the German Confederation of 1815.

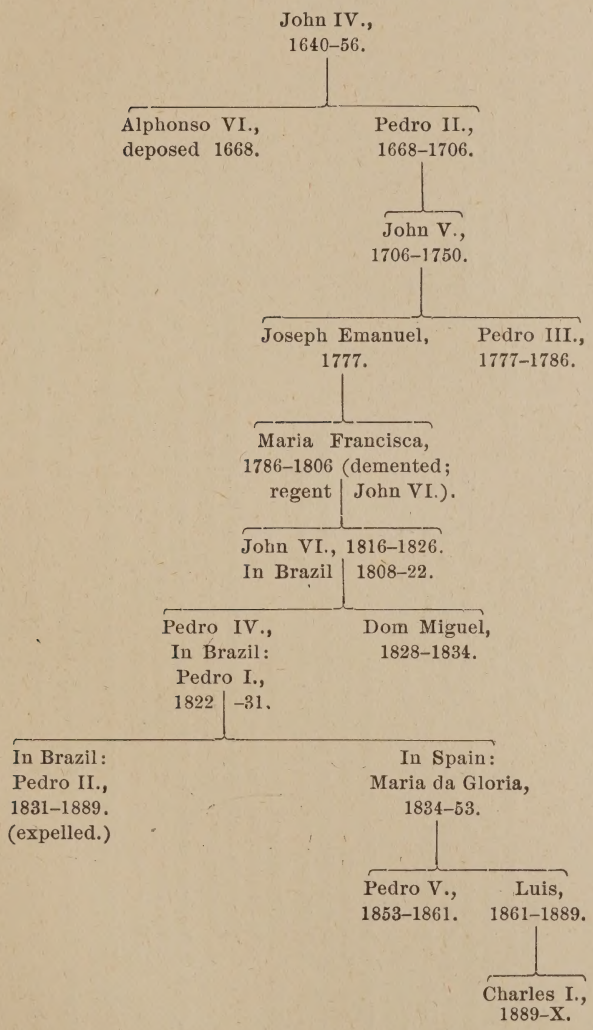
448. The Catholic Church in Prussia. — The Catholic Church in Germany and Austria emerged from the Revolution with more power and freedom than she had enjoyed for a century. In October, 1848, the German Episcopate for the first time in the nineteenth century united for common action in the Conference of Würzburg under the presidency of Archbishop Geissel. The governments could not help recognizing in the Church a bulwark of law and order. The absolute state as it had existed before 1848 was no more. The fundamental laws which survived the Assemblies of Frankfort and Berlin, guaranteed to the Catholic Church as to all other denominations, the free management of her own ecclesiastical affairs, and the independent possession and administration of the funds destined for religious, educational, and charitable purposes. Ecclesiastical elections and communication with Rome were freed from the placet and the supervision of the State. In the management of the schools a tolerable modus vivendi between the Church and the State was found. The Right of Association called forth numerous religious societies and opened Germany to the religious orders. Driven from Switzerland the Jesuits founded a province in Germany, and began their career of popular missions throughout the country, which, while reviving the zeal of the Catholic masses, prepared them for fresh attacks, that twenty years later culminated in the Culturkampf.

449. The Austrian Concordat, 1855. — In 1850 Emperor Francis Joseph completed the abrogation of the persecuting code of Joseph II. and sealed the abrogation five years later by a Concordat, in which the rights of the Holy See were fully recognized. It provided for free communication between the Austrian hierarchy and the Holy See, between bishops and people, and between religious Orders and their superiors. The clergy obtained the necessary facility for inspecting the schools and superintending religious instruction. The Church secured the right of condemning bad books, while the government pledged itself to prohibit their publication. The seminaries were placed solely under the bishops. The right of

the Church to hold ecclesiastical property was asserted, and some of the property of which the Josephine system had deprived the Church was restored.

Görgey: *My Life and Acts in Hungary, 1848-49.* — Klapka: *War of Indep. in Hungary.* — Pragay: *Hungarian Revol.* — Vambéry: *Story of Hungary.* — Wegg-Prosser; Kossuth: M. '82, 3. — Hogan: *The Hung. Struggle for National Independence:* M. '86, 1. J. McCarthy: *American Influence on the Democratic Movement in Europe*, A. C. Q. v. 5. — W. S. Lilly: *A Century of Revolution.* — See preceding section.

THE HOUSE OF BRAGANZA IN PORTUGAL.



THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION.

Revolutions in *Spain* and *Portugal* and their *American Dependencies.*

SOVEREIGNS.

SPAIN.

Ferdinand VII., 1814–1833.
Isabella I., 1833–1868, Christina regent, 1833–41; Espartero regent, 1841–43.
Amadeo, son of Victor Emmanuel, 1871–1873.
Alphonso XII., son of Isabella, 1875–1885.
Alphonso XIII., Maria Christina regent, 1885–X.

PORTUGAL.

John VI., 1816–1826.
Dom Miguel, younger son of John VII., 1828–1834.
Maria II., da Gloria, 1834–53.
Her son Pedro V., 1853–1861.
His brother Luis, 1861–1889.
His son Charles I., 1889–X.

BRAZIL.

John VI., abdicated 1822; Dom Pedro I. (elder son of John VI.), 1822–31.
Dom Pedro II., 1831–89.
Brazil a Republic, 1889–X.

Causes.— In Spain: 1. Arbitrary rule of *Ferdinand VII.*
2. Secret societies; freemasonry.
3. Popular demoralization caused by the French occupation.
4. The clamor of the Radicals for the *Constitution of 1812.*

In the Colonies: 1. Selfish policy of the mother country.
2. The French conquest of Spain.
3. The desire for independence inspired by the example of the United States.
4. American encouragement (the *Monroe doctrine* against interference by *Holy Alliance*).

In Portugal. 1. Unpopularity of the English rule in Portugal (regency of *Lord Beresford*).
2. Popular demand of the return of the Royal House.
3. Radical agitation for a democratic Constitution.

In Brazil: The vote of the Portuguese Chamber to reduce the Empire of Brazil to the former condition of a colony.

Revolutionary Movements.	*Congresses and Alliances.*	*Suppression.*	*Results.*
1. **IN SPAIN**, 1820. Military insurrection at *Cadiz* spreading over the country.	The **HOLY ALLIANCE**, 1815. *Austria*, *Russia*, *Prussia*, afterwards joined by *France.*	By the French occupation under the *Duke of Angoulême*, 1823–27.	*Second Restoration in Spain.* In Mexico: Independence, 1821. First Empire (*Iturbide*), 1822. Republic, 1823–1863.

2. **IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES**, 1810–25. Decisive victory of **BOLIVAR THE LIBERATOR** over the Spaniards at *Ayacucho*, 1824.	Congresses of the Holy Alliance: At *Troppau*, 1820, to pacify Italy. *Laybach*, 1821. *Verona*, 1822, to pacify Spain and Greece.		*Central and South American Republics* emerging from the Revolutions since 1850: Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Chile, Columbia, Equador, La Plata, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela. *Colonies left to Spain: Cuba, Porto Rico* (lost 1898).
3. **IN PORTUGAL**, 1820. Military insurrection starting at *Oporto*. 4. **IN BRAZIL**, 1822. Declaration of Independence from Portugal. *Dom Pedro I.* proclaimed Emperor.		The Revolutionary disorders temporarily suppressed by *Dom Miguel*, whom the Cortes proclaimed King, 1828.	The intrigues of *Dom Pedro I. of Brazil* (expelled 1831) to annul the election of his brother by the Cortes, and to secure the succession to his daughter *Maria da Gloria*, led to civil war in Portugal. In Spain the abolition of the *Salic Law* by *Ferdinand VII.* in favor of *Isabella*, daughter of his second wife *Christina of Naples*, deprived *Don Carlos* of his right of succession.
5. **CIVIL WAR IN PORTUGAL**, 1831–34. Occupation of *Oporto*, 1832; of *Lisbon*, 1833, by *Dom Pedro's* forces; conquest of Portugal for *Maria II.*, 1834. 6. In Northern *Spain* sanguinary **CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE CARLISTS AND CHRISTINOS**, 1833–40. *Zumalacarregui* in Biscaya, *Cabrera* in Catalonia, *Merino* in Castile.	*Quadruple Alliance* concluded by *Martinez de la Rosa* between *Spain*, Dom Pedro for Portugal, Louis Philip of *France*, and *Palmerston* of England, for the expulsion of *Don Carlos* and *Dom Miguel* from Spain and Portugal.	The Portuguese war ended by the *abdication of Dom Miguel;* the Spanish rising suppressed by the intrigues of *Espartero*, and the treason of Gen. *Moroto*. *Treaty of Bergera*, 1839, granted the Basque provinces their ancestral rights. *Don Carlos* abdicated in favor of his son D. Carlos.	In both Spain and Portugal continued Revolutions, changes of constitutions, pronunciamentos of rival generals. Spanish parties: Moderates and Radicals or Progressistos. In both countries cruel oppression of the Catholic Church. The despot *Espartero* ruling in Spain, 1840–43. *Isabella II.* of age, 1843. Comparative tranquillity in Spain, 1845, under the administration of *Narvaez;* in Portugal, 1852.
7. **SPANISH REVOLUTION OF 1868–70**, owing to the ill-repute of *Isabella*, and the arbitrary rule of her ministers. Outbreak in *Cadiz*. Marshal *Serrano's* victory over the royalists at *Alcolea*. Isabella's flight. Bourbons deposed. Serrano provisional regent.		The *Duke of Aosta*, second son of *Victor Emmanuel* elected by the Cortes as *Amadeo I.* (cf. Hohenzollern incident, p. 335)	*Amadeo I.*, 1870–73. The reign of Amadeo never became popular. He was opposed: 1. By the *Carlists*, adherents of Don Carlos (grandson of the original D. C.); 2. by the *Constitutionalists*, adherents of Isabella's

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION — *Continued.*

SPANISH REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR (SECOND CARLIST WAR) OF 1873-75. Proclamation of the Republic. State of anarchy. Civil war: The *Constitutionalists* for *Alphonso XII.* against the Republicans or Federalists in the South, who fought for confederated provincial republics; and against the *Carlists* of the North, who fought for the legitimate kingdom and Don Carlos.

The Republicans were overthrown by the capture of *Carthagena*, 1874; Royalty restored in the person of *Alphonso XII.*, by military proclamation, 1875; *Don Carlos* forced to cross into France, 1876.

son *Alphonso*; 3. and by the *Republicans*. Convinced of his inability to form a stable government he abdicated in 1873. His abdication led to the Revolution of 1873.

Alphonso XII., 1875-85. The *Fueros* or ancient privileges of the Basque provinces, the stronghold of Carlism, were abolished by the government. These provinces at times renewed their resistance to a government to which they never became fully reconciled. Alphonso XII. died 1885; his widow, *Maria Christina of Austria* regent for *Alphonso XIII.*

THE REVOLUTION AND WAR OF GRECIAN INDEPENDENCE, 1821-1829.

Causes.

1. The hereditary antagonism between the Christians and the Moslem.
2. *Hetairies* or Greek secret societies.
3. Risings of the Christians in *Moldavia*, *Wallachia*, *Morea*, and the islands, 1821.
4. Turkish atrocities committed in *Adrianople*, the island of *Chios*, etc.
5. The agitation of the *Philo-Hellenists*. The efforts of the patriots were often hampered by dissensions in their own ranks.

Revolutionary Operations, etc.

1. The rising of Prince *Ypsilanti* defeated; the Prince a prisoner of Austria, 1821.
2. A part of the Turkish fleet burned by the Grecian leader *Canaris*.
3. Heroic defense of *Missolonghi*, 1825-26.
4. Invasion of *Morea* by *Ibrahim Pasha*, *Khedive of Egypt*, 1825-27.
5. **BATTLE OF NAVARINO.** The Turkish fleet destroyed by the fleets of *England*, *France* and *Russia*, 1827.

RUSSO-TURKISH WAR, 1828-1829.

1. Operations in Europe.
   The Balkans crossed and *Adrianople* taken by *Gen. Diebitch*.
2. In Asia.
   Kars and Erzerum captured by *Gen. Paskewitch*.

PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE, 1829.

On the part of Russia: restoration of the conquests.

On the part of Turkey: submission to the decrees of the *London Conference*, i. e. recognition of the *independence of Greece*, 1830.

Greece declared a kingdom by the three guardian Powers.

Otto I., first *King of Greece*, 1832-62.

In 1862 an internal revolution, partly incited by emissaries of revolutionary Italy, expelled King Otto, and deposed his family. Greece after a long search for a ruler, had to accept from the Powers a new King in the person of Prince George of Denmark, 1863-X. In 1864, England ceded to Greece the Ionian Islands.

THE EARLIER REVOLUTIONS IN ITALY.

POPES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.— Pius VII., 1800-1823. Leo XII., 1823-1829. Pius VIII., 1829-1830. Gregory XVI., 1831-1846. Pius IX., 1846-1878. Leo XIII., 1878-X.

Kings in Italy.

PIEDMONT OR SARDINIA.	**NAPLES AND SICILY.**	**KINGDOM OF ITALY.**
Victor Emmanuel restored, 1814-1821.	Ferdinand I., 1815-1820.	Victor Emmanuel II., K. of Sardinia, 1849-61.
His brother Charles Felix, 1821-31.	Francis I., 1820-1830.	K. of Italy, 1861-1878.
Charles Albert, 1831-49.	Ferdinand II., 1830-1859.	Umberto (Humbert), 1878-X.
	Francis II., 1859-1861.	

Causes.— 1. The revolutionary ideas inherited from the preceding period.
2. The popular craze for the *Spanish* Constitution of 1812.
3. The Italian *Carbonari* invading the armies and administrations.
4. The union of the Italian with the International conspiracy.
5. The revolutionary agitation of **MAZZINI** and his "Young Italy" Propaganda for establishing an Italian Republic.
6. In Sicily the desire of accomplishing the independence of the island.

Revol. Movements.	*Congresses.*	*Suppression.*	*Results.*
Italian Revolution. 1. Risings in *Naples* and *Palermo*. Abdication of *Ferdinand I.* The Constitution accepted 1820. 2. The *Carbonari* seize the citadels of *Alessandria* and *Turin*. Abdication of *Victor Em. I.*, 1821. 3. Revolutionary risings in *Modena*, *Bologna*, *Romagna* and the *Umbrian Marches*, 1831-33. 4. Mazzini's international plot to rouse Germany, Italy and France.	The Congresses of the Holy Alliance at *Troppau* and *Laybach*, to suppress the revolutionary movements in Naples and Piedmont.	The rising in *Sicily* subdued by the revolut. government of *Naples*. At *Naples*, by an Austrian army. In Piedmont *Charles Felix* assisted by the *Austrians* routed the revolutionists at *Novara*, 1821. The rising of 1831 suppressed by the *Austrians*. *Mazzini's* international plot failed.	Second restoration in the Sicilies under *Francis I.* and *Ferdinand II.* Second restoration in Piedmont under *Charles Felix* and *Charles Albert*. The popularity of *Gregory XVI.* in Rome and *Ferdinand II. in Naples* completely foiled the plans of the revolutionists in 1831, etc. The defeat of Young Italy in 1833-34 multiplied repressive measures in Italy, Germany, and France.

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION — *Continued.*

THE JULY REVOLUTION, 1830.

French Governments after the Restoration.

BOURBON KINGS.
Louis XVIII., 1814 (1815)-1824.
Charles X., 1824-1830.

JULY MONARCHY.
Louis Philip, King of the French, 1830-48.

SECOND REPUBLIC.
1848-1851 (52).

SECOND EMPIRE.
Napoleon III., 1852-1870.

THIRD REPUBLIC.
1870-X.

Other European Sovereigns.

AUSTRIA.
Francis I., Emp. of Austria, 1806-1835.
Ferdinand I., 1835-1848.
Leading Statesman, *Metternich.*
Francis Joseph I., 1848-X.

PRUSSIA.
Frederic William III., 1797-1840.
Frederic William IV., 1840-1861.
William I., 1861; Emperor 1871-1888.
Emp. Frederic III., 1888.
Emp. William II., 1888-X.

ENGLAND.
George III., 1760-1820.
George IV., 1820-1830.
William IV., 1830-1837.
Victoria, 1837-X.

RUSSIA.
Alexander I., 1801-1825.
Nicholas I., 1825-1855.
Alexander II., 1855-1881.
Alexander III., 1881-1894.
Nicholas II., 1894-X.

Causes. — *In France.* 1. Party strife and secret societies under *Louis XVIII.* (murder of the *Duc de Berry*).
2. Agitation of the French *Carbonari* under *Charles X.*
3. Dissolution of the Liberal Chamber, 1830.
4. The Five Ordinances.

In Belgium. 1. The unnatural union of Belgium and Holland by the *Congress of Vienna.*
2. The imposition of the Dutch law, language, and debt on Belgium.
3. Sectarian unfairness of the Dutch government against Belgian Catholics.
4. The agitation of foreign, especially French emissaries.

In Poland. 1. The despotism of *Prince Constantine*, governor of *Warsaw.*
2. The agitation by secret societies.

Revolutionary Movements.	*Foreign Interference.*	*Suppression.*	*Results.*
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE. Paris in revolt. The Three Days: July 27-29, 1830. The real fighters were the *Republicans.* Proclamation of a Social Republic.	The European courts treated the Revolution as an internal affair of France. Only Czar *Nicholas* withheld his recognition of the new order.	The representatives of the bourgoisie outwitted the Republicans by forming a Provisional Government (*Lafitte, Casimir Perier, Odillon Barrot*). *Louis Philip*, Lieutenant-General;	*Abdication of Charles X.* in favor of his grandson, the *Duke of Bordeaux* (*Comte de Chambord*). *Louis Philip*, "*King of the French:*" Citizen King of the July monarchy.

		Lafayette, commander of the National Guards.	Conquest of *Algiers*.
IN BELGIUM, Sept., 1830. Outbreak in *Brussels*, thence spreading over the whole country. Provisional Government. Declaration of Independence. Belgium a constitutional kingdom. Exclusion of the *House of Orange*.	The Conference of the Powers at London recognized the independence of Belgium, and the election of *Leopold I.*, 1831-65 (of Saxe-Coburg).	Attempt of *William I. of Holland* to force the Belgians; his victories at *Hasselt* and *Louvain* over Leopold I. French and English fleet forced his acquiescence (siege of *Antwerp*).	Belgium a Constitutional Kingdom. The Constitution forbade State interference in ecclesiastical affairs. Splendid revival of Catholicity in Belgium. *Leopold I.* succeeded by *Leopold II.* (1865).
IN RUSSIA, 1830-31. Outbreak at *Warsaw*. *Constantine's* flight. House of Romanow deposed by the Diet. Provisional Government. The Revolution spread to *Lithuania*, *Volhynia*, and *Podolia*.	The Western Powers of Europe were indifferent to the struggle of the Poles. The Eastern, or Partition Powers: *Russia*, *Austria*, and *Prussia*, were opposed to Polish independence.	1. Disunion of the Poles; the *Reds* or *Republicans* wanted an indep. Polish Republic, the *Whites* or *Aristocrats*, government by nobles, and personal union with Russia. 2. Russian victories at *Grachow* and *Ostrolenka; Warsaw* taken and Revol. suppressed by Gen. *Paskewitch*, Sept., 1831.	By the Organic Statute of 1832, Poland lost its separate Constitution granted in 1815, and became a Russian Province with separate administration. Forcible Russification of Poland and persecution of the Catholic Church.

THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION, 1848.

Causes.—**IN FRANCE.**

1. The unpopularity of *Louis Philip's* internal administration (personal rule; governmental corruption) and external policy (France checked in *Egypt;* excluded from the *Quadruple Alliance*).
2. Growth of opposition parties: (*a*) the **SOCIALISTS** and *Republicans* clamored for a democratic republic; (*b*) the *Bonapartists* for the accession of *Prince Louis Napoleon;* whilst (*c*) the Constitutionalists (*Lamartine, Thiers, etc.*) demanded only a more liberal government within the July Monarchy.
3. The agitation for a reform of popular representation; reform banquets.
4. In France as well as elsewhere, the renewed activity of the secret societies.
5. The special cause of the terrible rising of the *Socialists* in the *June days* was the dissolution of the National workshops by the Conservative majority of the Constitutional Assembly.

IN ITALY.

1. The revolutionary Propaganda conducted by *Mazzini;* Young Italy.
2. The alliance of *Sardinia* with the Revolution for the purpose of driving *Austria* from Italy.
3. The active support which *Palmerston* and his agents gave to the Italian revolutionists.

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION — *Continued.*

4. The influx of conspirators from every part of Europe.
5. In Rome the treachery of the political exiles amnestied by **PIUS IX.**
6. The refusal of Pius to declare war against Austria.

IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

1. The exclusion of the people from all political action.
2. The example of the *February Revolution in Paris* and the agitation carried on by revolutionary emissaries, etc.
3. Popular meetings demanding freedom of the press, trial by jury, right of organization, a National Guard, a German Parliament. In many places these measures were introduced by the people before the government had time to act.
4. Apart from these general demands, the monarchical parties worked for the unification of Germany under a Constitutional *Emperor*, the *Republicans* for a Republic based on the *sovereignty of the people.*
5. The struggle of the *Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein* to obtain national independence warmly supported by the German people.
6. In **AUSTRIA** (*a*) the *crown lands* armed to obtain separate Constitutions; (*b*) the *peasants*, to throw off the remaining feudal burdens.
7. In **HUNGARY, KOSSUTH** and his associates agitated for the national independence of Hungary and its dependencies.

Revolutionary Movements.	*Assemblies, etc.*	*Suppression.*	*Results.*
1. **THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION IN PARIS.** Feb. 22, riots. Feb. 23, erection of barricades; the fighting conducted chiefly by members of secret societies. February 24, general insurrection; victory of the Republicans and Socialists. Abdication and flight of the King.	Feb. 24. Provisional government at the Hotel de Ville. Republic proclaimed. Commission of laborers (*Louis Blanc*, Socialist). Public workshops.		*Second Republic*, 1848 (Nov. 10)–1852. *Louis Napoleon* elected President for four years, chiefly by the peasants. Constitution of 1848 never popular.
THE JUNE DAYS, June 23–26. Rising of the Socialistic workingmen. Terrible carnage in the streets of Paris; 16,000 fell, 14,000 prisoners. Murder of *Mgr. d'Affre.*	Feb. 25. *National Assembly* summoned. Its majority closed the public workshops; result: the June days.	*Cavaignac* intrusted with dictatorial powers; *Gen. Lamoricière* and others put down the insurrection in a four days' fiercely contested fight.	Dec. 2, 1851. *Coup d'état.* Napoleon, by proclamation, dissolved the Assembly, and proposed a new Constitution. Arrest of 78 Generals, statesmen, and men of distinction, and 220 deputies.
	Nov. 4. *Constitution of* 1848.		Dec. 21 and 22. *Napoleon President* for 10 years with monarchical powers.
			Jan. 9, 1852. **CONSTITUTION OF THE FIRST EMPIRE** revived.

2. **THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION IN ITALY.** 1. The revolt of *Sicily* against *Naples.* 2. Four days' successful insurrection at *Milan* (March 18–22); *Radetzki* forced to evacuate. Provisional government in Lombardy. 3. **WAR OF SARDINIA** in alliance with the Revolution against **AUSTRIA**, 1848-49. Conquest of Northern Italy as far as *Verona*, 1848. 4. State of anarchy in *Tuscany*, *Parma*, *Modena*, and the *Romagna.*	Representation of the people and numerous reforms granted by **PIUS IX.** in 1847. Similar Constitutions in *Naples*, *Florence*, etc. In *Piedmont*, first issue of the *Statuto Fondamento* (Piedmontese Constitution) by *Charles Albert*, Feb. 1848.		Dec. 2, 1852. **NAPOLEON III. EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH** by senatorial decree and a popular plebiscite of over 7,000,000 votes. **SECOND EMPIRE**, 1852–1870.
		Battle of *Custozza;* Charles Albert defeated by **RADETZKI** (July 25), 1848; reconquest of *Lombardy; Modena* and *Parma* occupied by the Austrians. Truce. Battle of *Mortara* and *Novara*, March, 1849. *Charles Albert* defeated by *Radetzki.* Venice reduced by *Radetzki;* Sicily by *Ferdinand II.*	*Charles Albert* abdicated in favor of his son *Victor Emmanuel II.* at Novara. *Peace with Austria;* Sardinia had to disband her foreign troops and to withdraw her fleet from the Adriatic.
IN ROME: Murder of *Rossi.* (Nov. 15) Attack on the *Quirinal.* (Nov. 16) *Flight of Pius IX. to Gaeta*, whence he appealed to the Catholic Powers.	*Revolutionary Parliament* in Rome. *Venice* a Republic. Feb. 5, 1849. Rome a socialistic and atheistic Republic. *Mazzini*, Dictator.	*France*, *Austria*, *Spain*, and *Naples* answered to the appeal of Pius IX. France claimed the principal action. Two months' siege and capture of *Rome* by the French under *General Oudinot*, July, 1849, and restoration of Papal authority.	**PIUS IX.** return to Rome, 1850. Pontificate, 1846–1878. Peaceful possession of the States of the Church, 1850–60.
3. **THE REVOLUTION IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.** First insurrection in Vienna: the *March Days*, M. 13–15. Flight of *Metternich.* The *March Days in Berlin*, M. 15–19. Second insurrection in Vienna, May 15. Flight	Three Constituent Assemblies sitting at the same time: at *Frankfort*, for Germany (*Archduke John*, *Administrator of the Empire*, 1848–49). No agreement possible; at *Vienna*, for Austria; at *Berlin*, for Prussia. Slavonic Congress in *Prague.*	Siege of *Vienna* which surrendered to *Windischgrätz*, and *Jellachich*, Oct. 1, 1848. General *Wrangel* at the head of 25,000 men occupied *Berlin* and restored order.	The German Constitution drawn up at Frankfort failed to take effect. Austria and Prussia were henceforth ruled under Constitutions drawn up by the respective governments. The sepa-

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION — *Continued.*

of the Emperor. Committee of Public Safety in power. Third insurrection in Oct. Republican insurrection in *Dresden* and on the Rhine (*Palatinate, Baden*), May, 1849.	The radical *Rump Parliament* (secessionists from Frankfort) at *Stuttgart* dissolved 1849.	The Republican rising at *Dresden* suppressed by Prussian troops; on the Rhine by a vigorous campaign of the *Crown Prince* of Prussia. Capture of *Rastadt*.	rate Constitution of Hungary abolished. The Parliament of Frankfort gave birth to two German parties: The "*Grossdeutschen*" (gross=great) desired a Germany including the German territory of Austria; the *Kleindeutschen* (klein=small) desired a Germany without Austria, under the leadership of Prussia. The influence of Russia prevented a war between *Austria* and *Prussia* about this question.
4. **THE REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY** and **TRANSILVANIA.** The "Honveds" or national troops defeated *Jellachich, Ban of Croatia*, and *Windischgrätz*, 1849. March 4, 1849, general *Constitution of Austria*, abolition of the ancient *Hungarian Constitution* published; thereupon declaration of Hungarian Independence, deposition of the House of Habsburg.	The *Hungarian* Diet (*Kossuth*, minister of finance) refused to recognize the abdication of Ferdinand I. In 1849 *Kossuth* head of the Hung. government. Agreement between *Nicholas I.* and *Francis Joseph I.* for Russian intervention in Hungary	The Hungarian generals (Bem, Dembinski, Poles; Görgey, Klapka, Magyars) defeated by the Austrians under *Haynau* and by the Russians under *Paskewitch*, B. of *Temesvar* (Aug. 9) **CAPITULATION OF VILAGOS** (Aug. 13, 1849).	Abolition of the Hungarian Constitution. Transilvania and Croatia separated from Hungary. Gen'l Constitution of Austria abolished Dec. 1851.
5. Three wars of *Schleswig-Holstein* against *Denmark* for national independence (in the first and second wars, the Duchies were assisted by *Prussian* and German troops; in the third war they fought alone), 1848-1851.	The Duchies in insurrection formed a "Provisional Government," in 1848, and "Common Government," 1849.	The troops of the Duchies defeated at *Idstedt* (July, 1850), and Schleswig occupied by the *Danes*. Holstein occupied by the *Austrians*.	**THE CONFERENCE OF OLMÜTZ** (Nov. 1850), between Austria and Prussia handed over Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark. **THE CONFERENCE OF DRESDEN**, 1850-51, decreed a simple return to the old Diet of the Confederacy.

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTION OF THE CABINETS.

§ 1.

THE CRIMEAN WAR AND ITALY.

450. Change of Policy in Italy. — The accession of Victor Emmanuel II. marked a new era in the history of Piedmont. It brought about the triumph of the whole liberal programme of Church persecution; the passage of an anti-Catholic education law, the expulsion of the Jesuits, the violation of the property rights and immunities of the clergy, attacks upon the Papal jurisdiction, and the imprisonment and exile of archbishops and bishops. The policy received its finishing touch when Count Camillo de Cavour in November, 1852, began his eventful career as Prime Minister of Piedmont. He accepted the office after Victor Emmanuel had pledged himself to allow him a free hand in dealing with the Holy See. A wholesale suppression of monasteries and the reduction of the Episcopate to one-fourth of its former standing, completed the transformation of Catholic Piedmont.

The aim which Cavour pursued was the expulsion of Austria from Italy, the dethronement of the Italian sovereigns, and the destruction of the temporal power of the Holy See for the purpose of creating a united kingdom of Italy under the liberal rule of the House of Savoy. In order to realize this plan, he had to win for the little Kingdom of Sardinia admittance to the Councils of the great Powers of Europe. He gained his point by taking part in the Crimean war.

451. Causes of the Crimean War. — In France Napoleon undertook to strengthen his imperial position by gradually curtailing popular liberties and replacing the representative by a personal government. In order to divert the attention of the French people from home affairs he thought it best to occupy them with the glory and the advantages of a foreign war. He picked his first quarrel with Emperor Nicholas who had refused to address him as "brother." The protectorate of France over the Latin Church in

Palestine afforded an opportunity to attack the Russian protectorate over the Greeks. Napoleon obtained a decree from the Sultan which restricted the power of the Greeks at the Holy Places. On the other hand Nicholas was dreaming of a partition of Turkey, and made proposals to this effect first to England then to France. Both Powers refused to consider the plan whilst Austria checked his advance into Turkey through Montenegro. Nicholas then demanded at Constantinople that the protection of all the Greek subjects of the Sultan should be given over to him, and this being also refused he marched his troops into Moldavia and Wallachia. This movement brought the fleets of England and France to the Hellespont. Turkey declared war in 1853. Whilst the Turkish troops under Osman Pasha won a victory over the Russians, the Russian fleet sailed forth from Sebastopol, the stronghold of the Crimea, and destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. Thereupon France and England, closely allied, declared war against Russia, 1854.

452. The Campaign in the Crimea, 1854. — Russia being unable to hold the Danube Principalities they were with Turkish permission occupied by Austria. The allies made Sebastopol, Russia's naval arsenal in the Black Sea, the object of their attack; 30,000 French commanded by Marshal St. Arnaud (later by Canrobert and Pellissier), 27,000 English led by Lord Raglan (later by General Simpson), and 7,000 Turks, disembarked in the Crimea about twenty miles north of Sebastopol. The allies forded the river Alma in the face of a Russian army awaiting them. But mismanagement and cholera delayed the actual siege. Sebastopol was defended by 25,000 marines under the resourceful command of General Todleben, an engineer of great genius. The voluntary sinking of seven men-of-war by the Russians barred any approach from the sea side and General Mentchicow with the regular army occupied a plateau outside the city. Two battles were fought, at Balaclava, where the Russians inflicted great loss on the English (charge of the Light Brigade) and at Inkermann, where the English were saved and the Russians defeated by the timely arrival of the French. The slow progress of the siege compelled the allies to winter in the Crimea. Unprepared as they were they suffered extreme hardship.

453. Sardinia Joins the Allies. — Negotiations were carried on during winter and spring. But the proposals for peace made by Austria and Prussia were rejected by Russia. Thereupon Austria joined the allies, but receiving no support from Prussia abstained from actual interference. To obtain voice and standing in the deliberations of the Great Powers, Cavour now joined the alliance of France and England, and sent 15,000 men under General La Marmora to the Crimea.

454. The Fall of Sebastopol, 1855. — During the summer of 1855 the siege of Sebastopol was pushed on. The French did nearly all the effective fighting. In August they defeated the Russians who had crossed the Tchernaya. In October they stormed the Malacoff Tower. The English took the Radan but lost it again. The retreat of the Russians to the northern part of the fortress opened the city of Sebastopol to the allies. All parties desired peace. The success, such as it was, saved the honor of the allies. Russia was consoled for her loss by the capture of Kars in Armenia. The representatives of Russia, Turkey, France, England, Austria, and Sardinia, met in Paris, 1856. Prussia was admitted at the last hour. Cavour succeeded, notwithstanding Austria's protest, in entering the Congress of Paris on the same level as the representatives of the Great Powers.

455. Peace of Paris, 1856. — Russia had to draw back her frontier a few miles from the lower Danube, to restore Kars, and to renounce her protectorate over the Christians of Turkey and the Danube Principalities. She had also to promise to build no arsenals and not to keep more ships in the Black Sea than Turkey. The Porte pledged herself to treat the Christians within her dominions on a level with the Mohammedan population. The Western Powers restored to Russia Sebastopol minus its docks and fortifications and a few other places on the Black Sea captured by the allies.

The Congress also issued the following "Declaration of Paris": 1. Privateering is and remains abolished. 2. The neutral flag covers enemies' goods with the exception of contraband of war. 3. Neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag. 4. Blockades, to be binding, must be effective — that is to say, maintained by a force really sufficient to prevent access to the coast of the enemy. All the Powers, except the United States, Spain, and Mexico, subsequently signed the Declaration.

After peace had been secured, Cavour succeeded in his object of bringing before the Congress his own views upon the States of Italy. With utter disregard of international law and right the internal affairs of the Papal States and the Italian sovereignties were discussed, although no representative of these States was present, with a view of clearing the way for subsequent schemes of aggression. In public discussions and private conversations, in notes and memorandums, Cavour urged the granting of a separate administration for Lombardy and Venetia and of liberal Constitutions for Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, by their respective sovereigns. He charged the Pontifical government with incapacity and oppression, and demanded that the Romagna and the Legations be at least administratively separated from the Papal States. As to Naples he demanded an immediate and full amnesty to the exiles who were plotting against Ferdinand II. in London, Paris, and Turin. Cavour was sufficiently assured, when he left Paris, that in provoking a war with Austria he would have the support of France and England.

Chev. O'Clery: *The Making of Italy*, Ch. I. — Teeling: *The House of Savoy:* M. '98. 3. — Kinglake: *The Invasion of the Crimea.* — Dr. Russell: *British Expedition to the Crimea.* — S. Walpole: *Foreign Relations.* — Mazade: *Life of Cavour.* — De la Rive: *Le Comte de Cavour.*

§ 2.

WAR OF FRANCE AND SARDINIA WITH AUSTRIA, 1859.

456. Napoleon and Cavour Against Austria. — After the Congress of Paris war with Austria became the subject of long negotiations between Napoleon and Cavour. The independence of Italy was a cherished idea of the Emperor of the French. "The Conspirator of Forli," as Pius IX. called Napoleon, had fought for it in the Revolution of 1831. Cavour's pleadings with Napoleon were materially advanced by an unexpected event. On the evening of January 14, 1858, a daring though unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate the Emperor and the Empress as they entered the opera house. The murderous plot carried out by Italian hands was prepared in England under the control of Felice Orsini, a fugitive of the Roman Revolution. The Orsini bombs served as a reminder to Napoleon that by his oath to the Carbonari he had foresworn himself to the Italian Revolution. Accordingly, during the summer of the same year, in a hurried interview at Plombières, Napoleon and Cavour came to an agreement on the following points: War with Austria, the formation of an Italian Kingdom of about 11,000,000 souls and the cession of Savoy and Nice to France.

457. War Declared. — On New Year's day, 1859, a few sharp words addressed by Napoleon to the Austrian ambassador gave Europe the first intimation of the coming storm. Cavour had pushed forward his armaments, fortified Alessandria and created a marine arsenal at Spezzia. His embassies at the Italian courts were as many centers of conspiracy. In March the National Italian Society through its Vice-President, Garibaldi, issued instructions to the secret societies of Lombardy and Venetia for an insurrection to take place upon the outbreak of the war. In April Victor Emmanuel personally bestowed on Garibaldi the command of the Italian free corps. This act induced Austria to send an ultimatum to Turin demanding the disarmament of Piedmont within three days. The Chambers, hastily summoned for the purpose, conferred dictatorial powers on the King, and suspended the Constitution and the liberty of the press for the time of the war, while French troops poured into the country by land and sea. The conservative ministry of Derby in England, then in power, refused co-operation with Napoleon, it being too apparent that the affair was but a wanton provocation of Cavour.

458. Battle of Magenta. — The incapacity of the counsellors at Vienna and the vacillating conduct of Gyulay, the Austrian commander, made the campaign a failure from the outset. Gyulay crossed the Ticino. The battle of Montebello was but an Austrian reconnoissance in force to obtain information. After an obstinate resistance the Austrians were driven back. Garibaldi entered Lombardy and kept throughout the campaign on the left, and a little in advance of the allies, along the spurs of the Alps. The two days fighting at Palestro was the only engagement in which the Italians, five to one, did most of the fighting. When the allies assumed the offensive, Gyulay recrossed the Ticino and joined the forces of Clam Gallas, near Magenta. The French crossed almost at the same time. The chief fighting was done by Canrobert and MacMahon according to a plan drawn up by Napoleon. Victor Emmanuel and his army, who had been assigned the somewhat subordinate task of supporting MacMahon, were not even near the field. The possession of the village at Magenta was disputed with desperate courage; its final storming by the French decided the battle which gave Lombardy to the allies.

459. Battle of Solferino, June 24. — To insure the possession of Milan it was necessary to take Malignano. In the struggle for this place 8,000 Austrians offered 36,000 French the most

hotly contested resistance of the war. Numbers won, however, and the entire Austrian army withdrew behind the Adda. The Emperor of Austria now assumed the supreme command of his armies in Italy and massed his troops around Solferino. One hundred and fifty thousand men on either side were engaged in this very sanguinary battle. From the outset all the unity of plan and action was upon the side of the French. On the Austrian side only Benedeck held his ground throughout the battle against the twofold superior army of Victor Emmanuel. With tears of vexation he received the Emperor's command to join the general retreat, after the Austrian center had been broken by MacMahon's corps and the Imperial Guards. The total loss of the Austrians in dead, wounded, and prisoners, was 21,900, that of the allies 16,300 men. The loss of the battle was due not to the Austrian soldiers but to the blunders of the Imperial staff.

Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan. Here Napoleon addressed a proclamation to the Italians to rally round Victor Emmanuel and to free Italy from the Po to the Adriatic. And indeed Florence had already accomplished her revolution. The Grand Duke had sought an asylum in the camp of the Austrians. The government of Modena had melted away. The Duchess of Parma had released her subjects from their allegiance. The Court of Turin sent its representatives to the revolted States to prepare them for annexation. The Austrians, after Magenta, evacuated Bologna which they had occupied for ten years, and immediately the Romagna joined the revolutionary movement.

460. The Peace of Villafranca and Zürich, July 11; November 10. — After these terrible losses Austria was anxious for Peace, Napoleon equally so. His success had been dearly bought. His position on the Mincio, in the face of the Quadrilateral — the strong Austrian fortresses of Peschiera, Verona, Mantua and Legnano — was by no means impregnable. Germany began to be alarmed at the progress of the French arms. Public opinion in Catholic France loudly condemned a policy which threatened the extinction of the Papal States. Besides, both Emperors seem to have been appalled by the frightful carnage of Solferino. Napoleon III. accordingly arranged a meeting with Francis Joseph I. in the village of Villafranca, in which the latter was completely duped by Napoleon III. who boasted of an alliance with Prussia that

did not exist. Thus without consulting Victor Emmanuel or Cavour, Napoleon settled the preliminaries of peace: Cession of Lombardy (save Mantua and Peschiera) to the King of Sardinia; Venetia to remain under the crown of Austria; return of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena to their principalities; creation of an Italian Confederacy under the presidency of the Pope. On this basis the definite treaty was signed by the plenipotentiaries at Zürich. As the event proved, the peace of Zürich settled nothing but the boundary line between Austria and Piedmont.

Having stopped midway in the execution of the plans arranged at Plombières and proclaimed at Milan, Napoleon for the time refrained from claiming Savoy and Nice. Cavour resigned in apparent disgust to save his popularity with the Liberals who were furious at the Peace of Villafranca; but he remained, as before, the soul of the Italian agitation.

Chev. O'Clery: *The Making of Italy*, ch. II.-VII., pp. 20-117. — Arivabene: *Italy under Victor Emmanuel.* — Bossoli: *The War in Italy.* — Hunt: *Hist. of Italy.* — Adams: *Great Campaigns.* — Kossuth: *Memoirs of My Exile.* — *Lives of Cavour.* — Count Orsi: *Recollections of the Last Half Century* (to Napoleon III.). — *Garibaldi and the Revol. in Italy:* A. C. Q. v. 7. — Pachtler: *Secret Warfare of Freemasonry ag. Church and State.* — A. J. Thébaud: *Freemasonry*, A. C. Q. v. 6.

§ 3.

THE ITALIAN ANNEXATIONS AND THE ROMAN QUESTION.

461. State of the Papal Government. — The discontent manifested during the Italian war in the Papal provinces sprang from the agitation of the Carbonari, Young Italy, and Cavour's agents, not from a defective administration. The charges of Papal mal-administration made by Cavour, and spread by the Liberal press of Europe, were refuted by M. de Raynoval in an official report written solely for the information of the French government. The taxes in the Papal States were lighter than in most European countries. A Roman paid on the average 22 francs where a Frenchman paid 45. The government was not in the hands of the priests, as charged. In all the 18 provinces of the Papal territory there were but fifteen priests holding office in the government. Among the 5,000 administrative officials in Rome, there were only ninety-five ecclesiastics. The provinces that were placed entirely under lay administration complained of discrimination practiced against them by the exclusion of ecclesiastics. The codes of procedure in civil, criminal, and commercial cases were found upon investigation by French jurists to be above criticism. Numerous public works had been executed by Pius IX., such as the drainage of the marshes, the building of railways, telegraphs, steamers on the Tiber. Agriculture was encouraged. The Papal States were prosperous and had

more resources for relieving unavoidable misery than any other European State. When Pius IX. in 1857 made a progress of four months through his dominions he was everywhere received with genuine enthusiasm.

462. State of the Revolted Provinces. — The revolutionary party in the revolted provinces went on organizing provisional governments and appointing dictators, as if no Peace of Zürich existed. Farini extended his dictatorship from Modena to Parma and the Papal territory of Bologna, forming a provisional State under the old Latin name of Emilia. The new governments sent envoys to Turin, Paris, and London to work for annexation to Piedmont. After her reverses Austria could only protest against these proceedings. Prussia was beginning to think of her own aggrandizement. England, where Russell and Palmerston replaced the Conservative ministry of Derby, went straight over to the Italian camp. Lord John Russell had formally pledged the English Liberals to the support of the Italian Revolution. His cabinet, in its sectarian hatred of the Papacy, suspended the laws of England and the international laws of Europe to place money and men at the disposal of Cavour and Garibaldi and to hold direct communications with the enemy's headquarters against the King of Naples with whom England was at peace.

463. Pius IX. and Napoleon III. — Napoleon meanwhile kept his eyes on Savoy and Nice. In the place of Venetia the central States of Italy including part of the Papal territory were to satisfy for the present the aspirations of the Italian party. On December 31, 1859, Napoleon personally wrote to Pius IX. asking him to cede the Romagna to Victor Emmanuel. The Pope's answer, published to the Catholic world in the Encyclical of January 19, 1860, was the celebrated *non possumus*. "We declared to the Emperor, we could not yield up that which was not ours. We could not abdicate the said provinces without violating the solemn oaths by which we are bound." Thereupon Napoleon opened his direct campaign against the Holy See by suppressing the "Univers" of Louis Veuillot for publishing the Papal letter and by putting an end to the liberty of the Catholic press.

464. The Annexations. — Two days after the Encyclical, Cavour became again Prime Minister. In March he signed the ces-

sion of Savoy and Nice, the cradle of the Savoy Dynasty, to France. He then at once proceeded to the annexation of Central Italy by inaugurating the farce of a plebiscite in Tuscany and Emilia. The first so-called National Parliament meeting at Turin put the seal to the "accomplished fact."

"The annexation of the Romagna was the first definite accomplished act in the spoliation of the Holy See. On March 29 Pius IX. promulgated the bull which, without naming any individual, excommunicated all who had borne a part in the annexation of the Legations. The new Kingdom of Italy began its career under the ban of the highest censures of the Church."

465. The Invasion of Sicily. — Meanwhile Garibaldi gathered a band of 1,000 followers, sailed from Genoa and Sicily, and landed at Marsala. Persano, the admiral of the Sardinian fleet, received orders from Cavour to furnish supplies and afford protection to Garibaldi's expedition, but also to prevent any Republican scheme on the part of the freebooter. Numbers of Sicilian rebels joined the leader of the Redshirts. By the battles of Catalafimi, Milazzo, Palermo, and Messina, Garibaldi became master and dictator of Sicily.

466. Invasion of the Kingdom of Naples. — In August Garibaldi landed on the southern coast of Calabria. The army, the navy, and the administration of the Kingdom of Naples was undermined by secret societies, or won over to Italian unity by Cavour's agents. The Sardinian fleet secretly supplied the revolutionary committees with arms and men. Under these circumstances Garibaldi's campaign was a mere military promenade. General Briganti at the head of 10,000 troops, allowed him to occupy Reggio. His own ranks shot the treacherous general as a villain. General Ghio, his successor, led the Neapolitan army into a trap and surrendered, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, to a handful of Calabrese. After protesting against the lawless invasion, the betrayed King, Francis II., son and successor to Ferdinand II., left the capital September 6, accompanied by his family and the foreign ambassadors, to join the main army which had concentrated on the river Volturno. Naples being thus abandoned was readily entered by Garibaldi. Elated by his easy success he thought of nothing less than to con-

quer the Papal States and Venetia, and to summon Victor Emmanuel to Rome to be crowned King of Italy. But Cavour had already taken measures to carry out his own plan without the aid of his Republican ally and tool.

467. Invasion of the Papal States. — As early as August 31, Cavour wrote to Persano: "An insurrectionary movement will break out in the (Papal) provinces from the 8th to the 12th of September. Whether it is suppressed or not, we shall intervene." Napoleon, on a visit to his new Italian provinces, gave his approval to the plan at Chambéry. The "insurrection," so confidently predicted by Cavour, consisting in an invasion by Garibaldian bands who had a few skirmishes with the Papal police, was magnified by the liberal press of Europe into a spontaneous rising of the people, and furnished Cavour the desired pretext of curtly summoning Cardinal Antonelli "to disarm those corps, the existence of which is a continual menace to Italian tranquillity." Before he received an answer from the Papal court, the Sardinian troops, 70,000 men under Fanti and Cialdini, crossed the frontiers of the Papal States without a declaration of war.

The "menace to Italian tranquillity" was a small Papal army of 15,000 men as against 120,000 Italian veterans backed by the power of Napoleon III. General Lamoricière, the hero of Algeria, had responded to the call of Pius IX. to organize an army of volunteers for the defense of the Patrimony of St. Peter. The best names of Austria, France, Belgium, Ireland and Canada, were represented in this Catholic army. Lamoricière's plan of resistance was to concentrate a force at Ancona and hold out there as long as possible in the hope of some Catholic power coming to his assistance. He was confirmed in this hope by a treacherous dispatch which Napoleon, September 10, sent to the French ambassador at Rome, announcing that he would oppose by force an invasion of Papal territory by Piedmont. As a matter of fact the Catholic Powers protested and withdrew their representatives from Turin, but did no more. Palmerston attempted a positive apology for the outrage.

468. The Campaign of Castelfidardo. — The capture of Perugia and the fall of Spoleto ended the campaign in Umbria. Cialdini established himself with 28,000 men on the hills of Castelfidardo, to the southwest of Ancona, barring the one road by which

Lamoricière and Pimodan were endeavoring to reach Ancona. The battle of Castelfidardo, September 18, was a most heroic effort in which the chivalrous sons of almost every Catholic country laid down their lives for Pius IX. They were not vanquished but overwhelmed by numbers. Pimodan fell fighting after receiving the fourth bullet in his body. Of the 5,000 men who had marched out of Loretto in the morning, hardly 2,000 returned, the enemy not daring to pursue them. The following day they capitulated on honorable terms. Lamoricière with a small escort had succeeded in reaching Ancona where he assumed command.

469. The Fall of Ancona. — The Sardinian fleet arrived before Ancona on the very day of Castelfidardo, and forthwith began the bombardment. For nine days the garrison defended with undiminished vigor harbor and city against the united land and naval forces of the kingdom of Sardinia. But the blowing up of the light-house fort by a stray shell sank the great chain which barred the harbor, and left the city at the mercy of Persano's fleet. Lamoricière ordered the white flag of truce to be hoisted on walls and citadel, and opened negotiations for surrender with Persano. Yet the brutal Cialdini in the face of Persano's indignant protest, kept up for twelve hours a murderous and senseless bombardment. The capitulation was signed September 29. Lamoricière returned to France where he died in 1865. The annexation of Umbria and the Marches was completed by the usual farce of a plebiscite.

470. Naples Invaded from the North. — Victor Emmanuel assumed the command of the army in October and invaded the kingdom of Naples to deprive Francis I. of his kingdom and to put an end to the dictatorship of Garibaldi, who had just won a victory over the Neapolitan troops on the Volturno. Capua fell into the hands of the invaders. Francis II. and his army retired to the strong fortress of Gaeta. Annexation in the usual form — votes cast in the gleam of fixed bayonets — followed of course. At Teano Garibaldi greeted Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy. The meeting ended the campaign of Garibaldi, for a few days afterwards the King with studied contempt disbanded the followers of Garibaldi who had done his work in the South.

471. The Fall of Gaeta, 1861. — The siege of Gaeta began November 4. From the first day of the siege to the last the young King was the soul of the defense, whilst the Queen was indefatigable in the care of the sick and the wounded. The ingenuity and resource which Col. Afanto di Rivera displayed during the siege earned him a European reputation. For over three months the besiegers made little impression on the fortress. But on February 5, the great magazine at Gaeta exploded, probably by a treasonable act. The wide-spread destruction caused by the disaster made the fortress untenable. The capitulation, negotiated under a murderous fire from the Piedmontese batteries, was signed February 13, 1861. On the 14th the King and Queen of Naples departed in a French corvette for Rome where Pius IX. repaid the hospitality which he himself had received at Gaeta in the days of his exile. The fall of Messina, March 13, and of Civitella, March 20, completed the conquest of Southern Italy. On the day after the fall of Gaeta the Chamber of Deputies at Turin voted the law which made Victor Emmanuel King of Italy by the grace of the Revolution.

Chev. O'Clery: ch. VI.-XIII., pp. 87-270.— Captain Forbes: *Campaign of Garibaldi in the Two Sicilies.* — George Goldie: *The Papal Volunteers*, D. R. 57 (vol. 47 Old Series). — *Persano's Diary.* — Ch. Garnier: *Mémoire sur le Royaume des deux Siciles, Paris, 1866.* — Abbé Pugeois: *Le Gen. La Moricière.* — Dicey: *Memoirs of Cavour.* — McCarthy: *Garibaldi and the Rev. in Italy*, A. C. Q., 7. — Loughnan: *Garibaldi*, M. '82, '2.— *Lives of Cavour, Garibaldi, Lord J. Russell.* — Pierre de la Gorce: *L'Histoire du Second Empire.*

§ 4.

THE KINGDOM OF ITALY AND THE ROMAN QUESTION.

472. "Brigandage" in Naples. — As early as October, 1860, a patriotic movement began in favor of Francis II. in the Abbruzzi mountains and spread rapidly through the kingdom. After the fall of Gaeta it remained dormant for a few months, but again burst forth in the autumn not as a local struggle but as a national movement. The name "Brigandage" was attached to it by the invaders in order to throw odium on the rising of the royalists. For over four years sixty battalions amounting to 120,000 men were required to hold the kingdom subject to Victor Emmanuel. Sixteen towns numbering 50,000 inhabitants situated in seven provinces were sacked and burned within fourteen months by the Piedmontese. From May, 1861, to February, 1863, over 7,000 persons were shot, killed in battle, or made prisoners. The draconic measures adopted for the suppression of the rising

were: shooting with or without trial all persons taken with arms; imprisonment without trial of suspects, death or imprisonment for working in the fields without a passport, for carrying to the field work more food than required for one meal — in some places for storing food in one's house for more than one day. The Neapolitan prisons contained in 1863, according to the lowest estimate, about 20,000 untried political prisoners. Prisons able to accommodate 600 persons were crammed with 1,200 and 1,300 persons. Catholic bishops and priests were insultingly confined with the lowest criminals. Lord Henry Lennox declared in the English Parliament from personal observation, that the condition of the tortured in Dante's Inferno alone could give an idea of what he had seen in one of these prisons. The political movement died out in the summer of 1864, but to this day the South of Italy is held in check by the northern regiments of the Italian army. Thus the sham plebiscite of 1860 brought only misery and anarchy to Southern Italy.

473. The Roman Question. — Cavour's next move was towards obtaining the rest of the Patrimony of St. Peter with the city of Rome by negotiations with the Holy Father himself. These negotiations were hopeless, for Pius IX. was inflexible in questions of right and justice. The Roman Question was formally raised in the Parliament at Turin, March 25, 1864, by the motion that the Chamber of Deputies should declare Rome the capital of Italy. In his speech Cavour based this demand on "the absolute necessity for Italy of possessing Rome as her capital." The spiritual independence and dignity of the Pope would find its guarantee in the principles of liberty to be made an integral part of the Constitution of the new Italian Kingdom. "A free Church in a free State" should be henceforth Italy's policy. The resolution declaring Rome the capital of Italy was carried March 27. In less than three months after making the final spoliation of the Church a law of Italy, Cavour was no more. He died June 6, leaving it to Ricasoli to carry out his policy.

474. The Church and the Spoliation. — Since 1859 Pius IX. never ceased to inculcate in his Apostolical Letters and public allocutions the necessity of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See for the freedom and independence of the supreme spiritual authority. The bishops of the Catholic world taught the same truth in their Councils and Pastoral letters. The

most solemn manifestation of this kind took place in 1862, when 800 Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops — 265 of them present at Rome — solemnly voiced the necessity of the Pope's temporal sovereignty. "We acknowledge," said the prelates in their address to the Pope, "the civil principality of the Holy See as necessary in the present order of human society for the good and free government of the Church and of souls." The Catholic laity responded by national conventions, numerous protests against the usurpation of the Papal provinces and by generous contributions of money and men for the defense of the remaining Pontifical government.

475. The Affair of Aspramonte, 1862. — Whilst the Cabinet of Turin was urging Napoleon to withdraw his troops, which had occupied Rome and a few other places since 1849, Garibaldi established a drilling camp in Sicily and then crossed over to Calabria. The government, after some hesitation, thought it prudent to stop the enterprise. Troops of the line, in a short but hot skirmish, disarmed the volunteers and wounded and captured Garibaldi. Although Ratazzi, then prime minister, amnestied the captive leader, his ministry fell under the furious outcries of the Mazzinians.

476. The September Convention of 1864. — The Kingdom of Italy received a new provisional capital in consequence of the September Convention. On the one hand Victor Emmanuel desired the French troops of occupation withdrawn from Rome. On the other hand the French Catholics by their energetic protests compelled the Emperor to desist from open persecution of the Holy See. The result was a compromise arranged without consulting the Pope. France was to withdraw her troops from the Papal territory within two years. Italy pledged herself not to attack the Papal territory, nor to allow an attack from without, and to permit the organization of a small Papal army. A secret clause made the execution of the Convention dependent on the transfer within six months of its date of the Italian capital to a place to be determined by Victor Emmanuel. When it became known in Turin, that Florence was to be the capital of Italy, the indignation of the people knew no bounds. The crowded streets resounded with cries of: "Down with the ministers! Turin or Rome!" The interference of the armed police and the military resulted in the massacre of over 150 unarmed

men, women, and children. The King was compelled to dismiss the ministry of Minghetti who had concluded the treaty. Thus began the ministry of General La Marmora, the most important since Cavour's. The Radicals began to perceive that Florence would be but a station on the way to Rome, and the Parliament, meeting in October, approved the Convention and the transfer of the capital to Florence.

477. A New Ally. — La Marmora's political aim was to extricate the cabinet of Florence from its dependence on the court of Paris, and to substitute Prussia for France as the chief ally of Italy. The increasing tension between Prussia and Austria gave him the desired opportunity.

In Prussia Frederic William IV. had died in 1861. His brother, since 1857 Prince-Regent, ascended the throne as King William I., and at once began a reform of the Prussian army. Being strongly opposed by two successive Prussian Chambers, the King called in von Bismarck, the man of "blood and iron" as president of the ministry. His first care was the army. With the aid of a reorganized army Prussia was to be made supreme in Germany. To gain this end he needed a war with Austria. But the new King and his whole family were opposed to this project. Bismarck calculated that the best means of embroiling the two monarchs in mutual disputes would be an alliance between them for the purpose of interfering in the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein. He fully avowed all these aims and ideas in his secret dispatches to La Marmora. The Schleswig-Holstein affair had the following origin.

478. Schleswig-Holstein Affair. — When Christian IX. succeeded to the throne of Denmark in 1863, he accepted a Constitution which incorporated Schleswig with Denmark. An incorporation of Schleswig was clearly excluded by the agreement of 1852 between Austria, Prussia, and Denmark. Bismarck induced King William to conclude an alliance with Austria against Denmark. The allied Powers demanded a repeal of the new Constitution. Upon Denmark's refusal an Austro-Prussian army advanced into Schleswig, 1864, whilst the troops of the German Confederation occupied Holstein. In a few months the allies accomplished the conquest of Schleswig, the greater part of Jutland, and the island of Alsen. These misfortunes induced Christian IX. to sue for the Peace of Vienna, in which he got back the province of Jutland, but agreed

to recognize whatever disposition the monarchs would make of the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg.

479. The Treaty of Gastein. — Bismarck's foresight began soon to be verified. The joint administration of the Duchies by Austria and Prussia led to endless bickerings and wretched quarrels between the two Powers, which were only temporarily settled by the Treaty of Gastein. By this treaty the sovereignty over the Duchies remained vested in the two Powers jointly, but Austria was to administer Holstein, and Prussia Schleswig. As to Lauenburg, Austria ceded her claims such as they were to Prussia for a money indemnification, and Prussia joined the Duchy to the crown. The Treaty of Gastein was to last until a final settlement of the state of the Duchies should be reached.

480. The Alliance of Prussia and Italy. — The Treaty of Gastein could not avert the war which Bismarck was resolved to bring about at any cost. The two Powers could not come to a final settlement. Austria desired to strengthen the German Confederacy of which she was still the virtual head, by uniting Schleswig-Holstein with the Confederacy as a sovereign State under a native prince. She therefore supported the popular movement in favor of the Duke of Augustenburg. Bismarck, on the other hand, wanted Schleswig-Holstein for Prussia, and vigorously suppressed the movement. To intensify the friction, Prussia came forward with a proposal to reorganize the German Confederacy in such a manner as to destroy Austria's preponderance in Germany. It was under these circumstances that Bismarck and La Marmora arranged a secret offensive and defensive treaty of alliance. Italy bound herself to declare war against Austria immediately after Prussia should have taken the initiative. In the peace to be made by both parties jointly, Austria was to cede Venetia to Italy and an equivalent to Prussia.

481. The Rupture. — Napoleon III., who was friendly to both Italy and Prussia, proposed a European Congress to avert the impending war. It failed in consequence of Austria's refusal to have any change of boundaries submitted to the Congress. Austria then convoked the estates of Holstein. Prussia declared this convo-

cation a breach of the Treaty of Gastein, and her troops invaded Holstein. Thereupon the Diet of the German Confederation, upon the motion of Austria, decreed the mobilization of the Confederate Army, with the exclusion, of course, of the Prussian contingents. The consequence of these measures was the secession of Prussia from the Confederation, and war in Germany, Austria, and Italy.

Chev. O'Clery, Ch. XIV.-XIX., pp. 271-380. — Melena: *Garibaldi, Autobiography.* — Colonel Chambers: *Garibaldi and Italian Unity.* — Ch. Garnier: *Le Royaume des deux Siciles; Official Documents During the War of the Brigandage.* — Card. Manning: *The Temporal Sovereignty of the Holy See.* — Ming, S. J: *The same.* — Mgr. Besson: *Life of de Merode, Minister of Pius IX.* — Rev. L. Maglione: *The Vatican and the Kingdom of Italy.* — Powell: *Two Years in the Pontifical Zouaves.* — Lady Herbert Lea: *Rome the Capital of Italy.* M. '82, 1.— *Lives of Pius IX.* (see § 8). — *Mémoirs of La Marmora (Un po piu di luce; Ein wenig mehr Licht — A Little More Light).* — Gosch: *Denmark and Germany since 1815.* — Forbes: *William of Germany.* — C. Law: *Prince Bismarck.*

§ 5.

THE WAR OF 1866.

482. **Opening of the War.** — Austria's army concentrated at Olmütz numbered 240,000 men under General Benedeck. The Prussian forces divided into five armies amounted to 326,000 under the chief command of William I., with General von Moltke as chief of staff. The Crown Prince Frederic William commanded the Silesian army (115,000 men) and Prince Frederic Charles the army of Lusatia (93,000 men). When the Diet mobilized the Confederate army under the command of Prince Charles of Bavaria, Prussia called upon the Kings of Saxony and Hanover and the Elector of Hesse to form a new confederation under the leadership of Prussia. Upon their refusal the Prussians occupied the whole of Saxony and invaded Hanover and Hesse. The Elector of Hesse was conveyed as a prisoner to the fortress of Stettin. King George of Hanover retreated southward to join the Bavarians. But the Prussians prevented the junction of the Confederate armies and forced the Hanoverians to capitulate at Langensalza. They then defeated the rest of the Confederate troops in a series of successful engagements, and occupied the principal cities of middle and southern Germany.

483. Campaign of Custozza. — Victor Emmanuel had an army of 200,000 men in the field against the 70,000 under Archduke Albert. This was all that Austria could spare for Italy. Garibaldi commanded 36,000 volunteers but was easily kept in check at the foot of the Alps by a few Austrian battalions and the volunteer corps of Tyrolese riflemen. The Austrians concentrated their main army

behind Verona. La Marmora crossed the Mincio, June 23, and occupied the plain of Villafranca. The following day his army advanced with little order or method towards the heights near Peschiera, without knowing that they were in front of the Archduke's main army. La Marmora, utterly unprepared for a battle, and unable to communicate with several of his divisions, suffered the great defeat of Custozza. Though still doubly outnumbering the victors, the Italian army, demoralized by the hopeless inefficiency at headquarters, recrossed the Mincio during the night. On the morning of June 25, there was not an Italian soldier on Austrian ground. Italy's salvation came from the Prussian victories in Bohemia.

484. The Battle of Sadowa, July 3. — The occupation of Saxony had opened the way for the invasion of Bohemia, the chief seat of the war. The armies of the two Prussian Princes entered Bohemia without resistance. A third army followed the Saxons retreating from their own country to join the Austrians. Before the decisive battle was fought several Austrian corps had been defeated in detail. Numbers, arms, and organization were against Benedeck. The muzzle-loaders could not compete with the new Prussian needle-guns. Only Trautenau was an Austrian victory. The die was cast at Sadowa, nine days after Custozza. The Austrians in their strong position, with the fortress of Koenigsgrätz and the Elbe in their rear, successfully withstood the Prussian assaults in the forenoon; but in the afternoon the Silesian army arrived, gained the flank and the rear of the Austrians and secured to Prussia a complete victory. The Austrians retreated towards Olmütz. The Prussians occupied Prague and Brünn and advanced to the neighborhood of Vienna. An army corps was detailed for Hungary where Bismarck's agents had prepared a revolutionary outbreak. At this juncture a truce was affected through the mediation of Napoleon and preliminaries of peace were signed July 22. Francis Joseph ceded Venetia to Napoleon to be handed over to Italy.

485. Naval Battle of Lissa. — Admiral Persano, meanwhile, had lain quietly at Ancona with his large fleet. Public indignation and a sharp command of the King's Council "to do something" induced him to sail with twenty-nine battle-ships — eleven of them

ironclads — to the coast of Dalmatia, and take possession of the island of Lissa, on July 20. The Austrian squadron under Tegethoff sent to the relief of Lissa was far inferior in numbers and armament, and consisted chiefly of old wooden vessels. Tegethoff's short order to his captains was to ram away at everything they saw painted "gray." True to his command the Austrians rushed in among the Italian ironclads. Tegethoff himself sunk the ironclad "King of Italy" with 400 men in a minute's time. The other ironclads in trying to avoid the Austrian bows broke their ranks and were driven hither and thither at the enemy's will. When the fleets separated, Tegethoff, followed by his squadron in well ordered line, passed through the heart of the Italian fleet and took up his position in front of Lissa, whose rescue he had accomplished. Persano sailed back to Ancona. He was subsequently deprived of his rank and decorations and dismissed with dishonor from the service.

486. Peace of Prague and of Vienna. — In the Peace of Prague with Prussia, the Emperor of Austria consented to the reorganization of Germany without Austria, to the annexations made by Prussia, and to the cession of Venetia to Italy. Austria had to pay $15,000,000 for the cost of the war. In the Peace of Vienna with Italy Austria acknowledged the Kingdom of Italy with which Venetia was united. The Iron Crown of Lombardy was delivered to the representative of Victor Emmanuel. The annexations by Prussia of Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort increased the territory of the monarchy from 110,000 to 140,000 square miles, and its population from 19,000,000 to 23,500,000 inhabitants.

487. North German Confederation. — The federative union of North Germany arranged by treaties between Prussia, Saxony, and the other States north of the Main was a new creation, independent of the old Confederation. The Federative Government consisted of the Federative Council (Bundesrath) and the Diet (Reichstag). The members of the Bundesrath represent the federated States and their ruling princes, and deliberate under the presidency of the Chancellor. The King of Prussia, as President of the Federation, represents the League in its international relations, declares war, concludes peace, accredits its ambassadors and controls the army and navy with the consent of the Bundesrath. As member of the Bundesrath he can be outvoted like any other prince. The people are represented in the Reichstag, and elect its members by direct manhood suffrage. The

Bundesrath and the Reichstag do not form an upper and a lower house, but are independent bodies. Proposals which receive a majority of votes in the Council and in the Diet, become laws without ratification by the King President, who signs the law but has no veto power. The relation of the southern States to the North German Confederation was that of an offensive and defensive alliance, a tariff union, and, in case of war, of military subordination to the King of Prussia.

488. Results of the War in Austria. — The general dissatisfaction in Austria caused by the military defeat in Bohemia lifted the Liberal Party into power. The reorganization of the Empire was intrusted to a foreigner, Count Ferdinand of Beust, who had been minister of foreign affairs in Saxony. He undertook the transformation of the Habsburg monarchy into a modern constitutional State, and the reconciliation of Hungary with Austria and the Habsburg dynasty. Since 1849 Hungary had been ruled by German and Czech officials. Beust came to an understanding with the liberal Hungarian leaders, Francis Deak and Count Andrassy, which acknowledged the separate national existence of Hungary. Centralized Austria gave way to the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The federation of the two equal States (Cisleithania and Transleithania, from the river Leitha below Vienna) was to be renewed every ten years. The two States were united in personal union, the Emperor of Austria being at the same time the King of Hungary. Each of the States received its own Constitution, government, Parliament, and ministry. The two Parliaments annually choose a delegation of sixty members each, to legislate in matters of foreign policy, military administration, and imperial finance. The delegations meet alternately in Vienna and Pesth in separate houses. The three imperial ministers of the Chancellary, War, Finance, are responsible only to the Delegations, not to the Parliaments.

489. The New Policy. — Beust's reorganization of Cisleithania was unfortunate for the internal peace and prosperity of Austria. The Protestant minister of a Catholic country destroyed the influence of the clergy on education, especially in the elementary schools, and introduced the system of "neutral" or unsectarian instruction in the whole country. He tore up the Concordat with the Holy See, and joined the enemies of the Temporal Power. He still more increased the already numerous army of officials, and obliged every servant of the State to become a promoter of religious, political, and capitalistic liberalism. He finally disgusted every Austrian patriot by his servility to Prussia which he left as a legacy to his liberal successors.

Chev. O'Clery: ch. XX., pp. 381–403. *Campaign of 1866 in Germany*, Staff edition, transl. by Wright and Hozier. — Capt. Hozier: *The Seven Weeks' War.* — Sir A. Malet: *The Overthrow of the German Confederation.* — Dicey: *Battlefields of 1866.* — Simon: *William I. and his Reign; The Treaties of 1856 and 1867*, E. R. 71, 1. — Atheridge: *Ct. von Beust*, D. R. 87, 3. — Baron H. de Worms: *Memoirs of Ferd. Count von Beust.*

§ 6.

NEW ITALIAN AGGRESSIONS — THE PONTIFICATE OF PIUS IX.

490. The Garibaldian Raid of 1867. — The cession of Venice completed another stage in the making of Italy. In accordance with the September Convention Mgr. Merode and General Kanzler, successive ministers of war to Pius IX., organized a small but well-equipped and ably officered army of 13,000 men, partly Italians, partly Papal Zouaves or volunteers from every Catholic country. The sole object of this force was to protect the Papal States against Garibaldian attacks. Pius IX. had nothing to fear from his subjects, they were thoroughly loyal both in the country and in Rome; and to provide for an army able to cope with an Italian invasion, his resources were inadequate. The French army of occupation evacuated Rome December 12, 1866. At once Ratazzi, La Marmora's successor, concocted a new scheme to get possession of Rome. Garibaldi was to enter the Papal territory. A pretext thus being furnished, the Italian army was to march upon Rome "to restore order and protect the Sovereign Pontiff." The revolutionary machine was set in motion, committees were formed, arms collected, volunteers enrolled throughout Italy. The government furnished 181,000 cartridges, free passes on the railroads, and troops of the line disguised as Garibaldians. At the same time it publicly condemned in terms of righteous indignation a movement which it superintended in secret. Thus was brought about the invasion of the Papal States by 10–12,000 Garibaldians in 1867.

491. The Roman Insurrection and its Effects. — The Roman insurrection, the chief hope of Ratazzi, proved an utter failure. The cowardly blowing up of a portion of the Serristori barracks and a number of local fights which lasted less than half an hour and failed at all points, were the only incidents of this insurrection of October 22. On the morning of October 23 Ratazzi resigned. Menabrea took his place October 27, just after Napoleon, in consequence of the violation of the September Convention, had sent a fleet from Toulon to the Papal States. Acting on Menabrea's advice, Victor Emmanuel issued a proclamation in which he condemned the Garibaldian invasion in the name of the laws of honor and of international treaties. The proclamation was hardly issued, when a turbulent demonstration of the Party of Action before the royal palace extorted a promise from the King to throw laws, honor and international treaties to the winds and to march upon Rome if the French would occupy the city. The humiliation of Victor Emmanuel was complete.

492. The Battle of Mentana. — When Garibaldi heard that the insurrection in Rome had failed he concentrated his troops in the neighborhood of the Eternal City. The day after his arrival before the walls, the French landed at Cività Vecchia. The landing had two effects. Fifty thousand Italian troops of the line crossed the Papal frontiers, and annexed four towns to the Kingdom of Italy. Garibaldi withdrew from Rome and took position at Mentana. General Kanzler with 3,000 men followed by 2,000 French under Polhès, marched against Garibaldi. From the morning of November 31, till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the 3,000 Papal volunteers advanced step by step against 10,000 Garibaldian veterans; after 3 they were assisted by the French. The Revolutionists suffered a crushing defeat. Garibaldi fled before the battle was over. He lost 2,600, killed, wounded, and prisoners. The rest of his army hurried across the borders. The regular army of Italy immediately withdrew from the four "annexed" towns and from the Papal territory.

The news of Mentana was received with an outburst of joy throughout the Catholic world. Catholic sentiment in France showed so united a front that Napoleon thought it wise to declare through his minister, Rouher: "That Italy shall not get possession of Rome and of the actual pontifical territory. Never will France endure such an outrage upon her honor and upon Catholicity." In less than three years Napoleon III. broke his pledges and completed the betrayal of the Holy See.

493. Pontificate of Pius IX., 1846–78. — The Pontificate of Pius IX. was the longest on record, and one of the most memorable in history. This great Pontiff re-established the Catholic Hierarchies in England and Holland, and the Latin Patriarchate in Palestine, erected nearly 200 new sees, concluded concordats with nearly all the Christian States of the two hemispheres, and in numerous allocutions and encyclicals defended the rights of the Church. The three greatest acts of his Pontificate are the definition of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1854, the Syllabus of 1864, a collection of propositions which condemn the errors of the age, and the Vatican Council, December 8, 1869 — July, 1870.

494. The Vatican Council. — In 1867 Pius IX. indicated his intention of summoning a General Council. The announcement at once excited the animosity of the so-called liberal Catholics who had protested against the Syllabus. They feared lest the Council might define Papal Infallibility as a dogma, though it was not summoned for that purpose. The *denial* of Papal

infallibility, an heirloom of Gallicanism and Jansenism, was the chief doctrinal error in our times, because it struck at the validity of the Pontifical acts of the last 300 years, weakened the effects of Papal decisions in the present, and endangered the very root of faith. An organized opposition against the Council, headed by Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, sprang up within the Church and was loudly applauded by the entire anti-Catholic press. But in spite of this opposition and the obstacles which secular governments threw in its way, the Vatican Council was solemnly opened by Pius IX. in the first public session, December 8, 1869, made its profession of the Tridentine faith in the second session, January 6, 1870, and, in the first dogmatic Constitution, defined the Supernatural Order and condemned the opposing errors in the third, April 24.

495. Papal Infallibility. — The hopes of liberal Catholics, Protestants and unbelievers received the first check when some 500 Bishops petitioned the Holy See to permit the proposal and definition of Papal Infallibility. The Fathers of the Council were practically a unit as to the doctrine itself. But a minority comprising one-sixth of the Council was opposed to the opportuneness of the definition. It was a mere question of expediency. After full and fair deliberation the dogma was defined in the fourth public session July 18, 1870, by 533 votes against 2. Fifty-five bishops of the opposition had previously left Rome with Papal permission; 200 bishops who had not been present at the Council at once sent in their adhesion. All the bishops of the opposition accepted the definition as an article of faith. Heretical opposition remained confined to a small number of Professors (Dr. Döllinger, etc.) and laymen. The breaking out of the Franco-German war led to a suspension of the Vatican Council. With the Definition, the principle of authority was reasserted in the most solemn way. The Syllabus and the Vatican Council pointed out the only safe way to a regeneration of society.

Chev. O'Clery: ch. XXI–XXII., pp. 404–463. Mooney: *Pius IX. and the Revol.*, A. C. Q., 17. — Margotti: *Victories of the Church in the first Decade of Pius IX.* (Ital.).— R. Parsons: *The Pontificate of Pius IX.; Rationalism; The Vatican Council;* Studies, V.— Card. Manning: *The Vatican Council and its Definitions.— Collectio Lacensis.* — Beauclerk: *The Vatican Council*, M. '91, 1. —Fessler: *Das Vatic. Concil. — Lives of Pius IX.* by: Brennan; Graziani (*Sketches of Life and Times*), Hassard; Dawson (*Pius IX. and his Times*); Maguire; Wills; O'Reilly; Hülscamp. —G. F. Dillon: *The War of Antichrist with the Church and Christian Civilization.*

§ 7.

CAUSES OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR.

496. The Luxemburg Question. — Napoleon III. committed his greatest political mistake when he sacrificed Austria to Prussia in 1866, and he was soon to rue it. After the battle of Sadowa a war party sprang up in France that clamored for a restoration of the left bank of the Rhine. The idea that the Rhine was the natural boundary of France had been kept alive by statesmen, historians, poets, and the daily press since the fall of Napoleon I. Napoleon III. negotiated with the court of Berlin for a change of frontiers on the Rhine which would restore the balance of power rudely disturbed by the increase of Prussian territory. But by his usual policy of promises, deceits, reckless denials, and bold assertions Bismarck simply dallied with Napoleon and his diplomatic agents. The Emperor's demands finally dwindled down to the desire of purchasing the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg from Holland. But Luxemburg was garrisoned at the time by Prussian troops. The London Conference of 1867 prevented the outbreak of hostilities by a compromise. Luxemburg was declared neutral, Prussia withdrew her troops and the fortifications were razed.

497. Internal Troubles in France. — The general elections of 1869 foreshadowed the approach of a new revolution. Whilst the rural population gave the government a good majority, the large cities, especially Paris and Lyons elected radical men who were violently opposed both to Napoleon's personal government and to his dynasty. The Emperor tortured by disease and in consequence inert of mind wavered between the system of personal rule represented by Rouher and the moderate liberalism represented by Ollivier. Rouher finally resigned and Ollivier formed a ministry of his own party. The license of the press brought into play the most slanderous and blasphemous pens of the atheistic and communistic Revolution. The government took reprisals and filled the prisons with journalists and declaimers. A new liberal Constitution submitted by Ollivier and ratified by over 7,000,000 votes had no effect upon the fermentation of the revolutionary parties. It was an ominous sign that even in the army 50,000 had voted with the cities in the negative. To divert attention from internal troubles the Emperor's advisers urged him to involve the country in a dispute with Prussia. Napoleon was strongly averse to a war; Bismarck, on the contrary, hailed with joy the opportunity for a new conquest.

498. Revolution in Spain, 1868–70. — In 1868 a revolution broke out in Spain. The defeat of the royal troops at Alcolea drove Queen Isabella to France. The whole country declared in favor of the Revolution, thanks to the arbitrary measures of the

ministers and the ill-repute of the Queen. A provisional government deposed the Bourbons from the throne and summoned a constituent meeting of the Cortes. The majority of the Cortes decided against a strong Republican minority for a constitutional monarchy. Marshal Serrano was appointed Governor-Regent, while General Prim cast about for a new King at the different courts of Europe. After many failures Prim offered the Spanish crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, a relative of the King of Prussia. As the Prince soon after withdrew from the candidacy, the crown of Spain was finally accepted by Amadeo I., the second son of Victor Emmanuel.

499. The Hohenzollern Incident. — The acceptance of the Spanish crown by the Prince of Hohenzollern created intense surprise and anger in Paris because the negotiations between Spain and Prussia had been kept secret from the French ambassadors. To have the Hohenzollern north and south was too much for the French people. Public opinion and the press declared the scheme with one voice a challenge of Bismarck to France. It was such in fact, for Bismarck was resolved to force a war upon France, while her military state was, as he well knew, weak and disorganized. By his hasty, undiplomatic proceedings the Duke of Grammont played into the hands of his wary enemy. He informed the Prussian ambassador in Paris that France "would not tolerate any Prussian Prince upon the Spanish throne." The Republicans and Socialists fanned the warlike excitement to bring about the fall of Napoleon. Benedetti, the French ambassador to Prussia, was instructed to obtain from the King a declaration that "the royal government does not approve the candidacy of the Prince of Hohenzollern, and *orders* him to withdraw his determination *taken without the King's permission*." The King could not truthfully make this statement and would not issue an *order*. The Prince of Hohenzollern, however, voluntarily and formally renounced his candidature. Thereupon Benedetti was ordered to demand an assurance from the King that he would never sanction a revival of the candidature. The answer was, the King approves the withdrawal of the Prince; he can do no more. A new audience to Benedetti was courteously denied by the King, but the denial insultingly telegraphed to foreign courts by Bismarck. The French declaration of war followed at once (July 19). Napoleon's

declaration that France was not making war upon *Germany* but only upon *Prussia*, was met by King William's declaration that *Germany* was waging war not against the French people, but against their Emperor, and by the general mobilization of the northern *and* southern armies.

500. The Armies. — The Prussian army was splendidly organized, and its officers were provided with all the topographical details necessary for a campaign in France. The total strength of the North German army inclusive of some 190,000 Landwehr, was 750,000, that of the southern army 100,000 men. The right wing commanded by Steinmetz stood at Coblenz, the center under Prince Frederic Charles at Mainz, the left wing under Crown Prince Frederic William at Mannheim. King William I. was commander-in-chief and the great strategist, General von Moltke, chief of the general staff.

France was practically unprepared, the military administration in confusion, the fortresses ill-provisioned. Of the 350,000 troops of the line and the 100,000 gardes mobiles on paper, the eight army corps sent to the front numbered only 220,000, and these were not fully equipped. A reserve army of 300,000 was in course of formation. Napoleon was commander-in-chief, Marshal Leboeuf chief of the general staff. Marshal MacMahon stood at Strassburg, Marshal Bazaine at Metz. Napoleon committed the regency to the Empress before taking command.

501. State of Italy. — The earlier months of 1870 had been signalized in Italy by the appearance of Garibaldian bands and the violent language of the radical press. The Vatican Council then in session was exciting the resentment of the Liberals all over Europe. Even Austria turned against the Holy See, and Beust betrayed his anger by advocating a change in the September Convention which would allow Italian troops to occupy Rome with the consent of Austria and France. The Hohenzollern incident stimulated the zeal of the Party of Action. On July 17, the streets of Florence resounded to the cries of the Revolutionists: "To Rome! Down with France! Hurrah for neutrality!" On the 18th the infallibility of the Pope was proclaimed in the Council; on the 19th war was declared in Paris. With the declaration came Napoleon's resolve to sacrifice Rome and to withdraw his troops from the Papal States in order thereby to secure the support of Italy and Austria.

502. Evacuation of Italy and First French Disasters. — The evacuation of Italy began July 31. The greater part of the

infantry and artillery left on August 4th, the day on which France was losing her first battle at Weissenburg. General Dumont and the rest of the infantry left Cività Vecchia on August 6, the day of Woerth and Forbach. At Woerth MacMahon with only 45,000 men against the Crown Prince's 130,000, made a most gallant defense, but was forced to fall back upon Chalons. The battle of Forbach drove the main imperial army in full retreat upon Metz. Three days later the ministry of Ollivier and Grammont fell. Napoleon transferred the chief command from himself to Bazaine, and Leboeuf withdrew from the head of the staff. All hope for Italian and Austrian assistance was now gone.

Chev. O'Clery, ch. XXIII., pp. 464–479. — *Napoleon III.*, Lives by: Forbes (1898); Frazer (1897); Imbert de St. Amand (*Louis Napol. and Mlle. de Montijo; Nap. III. and His Court*); Jerrold; Lano (1895); E. R. '96. 4. — Loughnan: *Reminiscences of the Second Empire* (*on Maupas' Papers*), M. '83. 2, 84, 2. — *Secret Papers of the Sec. Empire*, E. R. '85, 1.

§ 8.

SEDAN AND ROME.

503. The Campaign of Gravelotte. — Bazaine's plan was to join the remnants of MacMahon's command and the new army which was being formed in the strongly fortified camp of Chalons. To prevent this junction the Prussians fought the next three battles in the neighborhood of Metz, at Neuilly, Vionville, and Gravelotte (August 14, 16, 18). At Gravelotte, King William at the head of 180,000 and 822 cannon, won, after eight hours hard fighting, a decisive victory over 140,000 French, supported by 550 cannon; 13,000 Frenchmen, and 19,000 Prussians fell in this bloody encounter. These battles cut the French forces in two and enabled the Prussians to surround the main army in and about Metz, which lacked sufficient provisions for so great an army.

504. Sedan, September 1. — On the morrow of Gravelotte the King of Prusssia and General Moltke made for Paris, leaving a formidable army under the Prince Frederick Charles to invest Metz. MacMahon, misled by reckless orders from Palikao, the new minister of war, instead of falling back upon Paris attempted to reach Metz, whilst Bazaine tried to break through the German lines and join

MacMahon. Seeing the impossibility of reaching Metz, MacMahon, accompanied by Napoleon III., concentrated his troops at Sedan. Having no idea of the nearness of the enemy, they camped in a valley surrounded by hills, a veritable death-trap. The Germans meanwhile, outnumbering the 140,000 French by fully 110,000 men, approached from different sides, and planted their batteries upon all the surrounding hills without rousing the suspicion of the French. The battle became one of artillery, a simple massacre. The French army fought with heroic, but unavailing bravery. Three times on that fatal day it changed its commander. MacMahon wounded in the morning gave up the command to Ducrot; Ducrot, also disabled, transferred it to Wimpffen. At three o'clock French resistance was exhausted. Napoleon ordered the white flag to be hoisted, and placed his sword into the hands of William I.

505. **Fall of the Second Empire.** — The following morning Napoleon drove to the Prussian lines. The capitulation of the French army was signed by Moltke and Wimpffen. As prisoner of war Napoleon referred the question of peace to the regent. In a personal interview William I. assigned Wilhelmshöhe near Cassel as residence to the fallen Emperor.

On September 4, the Chambers overthrew the Empire and proclaimed the Third Republic. The new government of the National Defense was a pure creation of the mob. General Trochu accepted the presidency and the governorship of Paris, Jules Favre became minister of Foreign Affairs and Gambetta of the Interior. The Empress and the Prince Imperial fled to England. Of the French army 10,000 men who had crossed the frontiers were disarmed in Belgium; 84,000 men were marched into Germany as prisoners of war. The German armies not needed for the siege of Metz converged towards Paris. Henceforth all the German military operations had the object of preventing any attempt to raise the siege of Paris, whilst the object of all the French operations outside of Metz was the raising of the siege of Paris.

506. **Waiting for Rome.** — As long as the fortune of France was hanging in the balance, the Italian cabinet negotiated with both France and Prussia. Napoleon gave up all opposition to the taking of Rome. Prussia, too, gave a formal permission to the cabinet of Florence to march upon Rome, as the price for Italian neutrality. In public the government pre-

served its apparent policy of strictly adhering to the September Convention. Visconti Menosta declared in the name of Victor Emmanuel; "The obligation which Italy has undertaken neither to attack the Pontifical frontiers nor to permit it to be attacked, even if it were not enforced by treaties, would still be enforced by other sanctions, provided by the ordinary law of nations, and the general political relations of States." But in proportion as the hopes of France vanished the real intentions of the government were revealed by the massing of troops along the northern and southern boundaries of the Papal States. To the European cabinets the Italian government spoke of a march to Rome to preserve order and prevent a revolution. To the Catholic Italians it proclaimed its intention of preserving the freedom and authority of the Pope. Pius IX. himself was plied with arguments to allow a peaceful occupation of his territory. After the battle of Sedan Victor Emmanuel wrote a brazen-faced letter to the Pope in which he asked the Head of Christendom to surrender those States. Pius' refusal to commit perjury and injustice, coupled with a dignified and pathetic rebuke of the royal aggressor, extorted the admiration even of the enemies of the Temporal Power.

507. The Sacrilege of 1870. — On September 11, Cadorna with 80,000 men invaded the Papal States. The 13,000 volunteers of General Kanzler were the only defense which Pius could oppose. They had orders to hold their ground against Garibaldian bands but to fall back upon Rome before the regular army. The Italians marched in five divisions by different routes from the North and the South until they united under the walls of Rome. Wherever they left a garrison they gathered together the few Liberals they found in the town, organized Giuntas and voted "loyal addresses" to Victor Emmanuel. On September 19, 60,000 Italians with 100 guns encircled Rome. There were skirmishes around the city, and a few shots exchanged from the walls. Rome within was perfectly quiet; not a single attempt was made to show sympathy with the invaders. Immense crowds flocked around Pius IX. wherever he appeared in public. The three summonses to surrender, sent by General Cadorna, were respectfully but firmly declined. Early in the morning of September 20 the Papal officers and soldiers received Holy Communion. At 5 o'clock a furious bombardment began, first mainly directed against the walls. Later the Garibaldians under Bixio sent their shells into the city, fired houses and hospitals, and aimed at the Vatican. The attacks were everywhere met by stubborn resistance. After four hours fighting the wall at the

Porta Pia began to crumble. And when at 10 o'clock the Italian columns advanced upon the open breach, a Pontifical dragoon brought the order to display the white flag. The evening before Pius IX. to prevent unnecessary shedding of blood, had ordered General Kanzler to open negotiations for surrender, as soon as a breach should have been made.

508. The Capitulation. — As soon as the white flag was displayed not another shot was fired by the defenders, whilst the Italians at the Porta Pia violated the truce by firing upon and brutally assailing the heroes of Mentana, who stood with grounded arms defenseless before them, and Bixio continued for another half hour to throw his shells into the city. By the capitulation the Papal army agreeing to leave Rome on September 21 was awarded the honors of war. The subsequent brutal treatment of the gallant volunteers, and the long and cruel imprisonment of Italians and foreigners who had served the Holy See, was a most dishonorable breach of the agreements made at the capitulation of Rome.

509. The Plebiscite of October 2. — The occupation of Rome was followed by days of frightful disorder, caused by the hordes of Revolutionists which invaded the city. On the 27th the Italians took possession of the Castle of St. Angelo, and from that day the Pope was confined within the bounds of the Vatican. Preparations for the plebiscite were made by daily arrests of Papal officials and sympathizers, and by striking out great numbers of respectable names from the voting lists. The latter measure was quite unnecessary as Pius IX. had forbidden Catholics to take part in the plebiscite. The number of votes for annexation was swelled by convicts released from prison, boys under legal age, foreigners of every country of Europe, "patriots" of Italy shipped to Rome at government expense, and by allowing everybody to vote as often as he liked. A Belgian sculptor to test the working of the plebiscite, voted twenty-two times without once being challenged. By such means 40,831 votes were rolled up for annexation against forty-six cast against it. The same methods were adopted in the provinces. Monte San Giovanni, e. g., which counted fifty-six voters, recorded 900 votes for annexation.

510. The Italians in Rome, 1870. — On the day of the Plebiscite, Pius IX. published his solemn protest against the lawless occupation of Rome which deprived him of the freedom necessary for the proper government of the Church. Since that day the

Vicar of Christ is practically a prisoner in his own palace. The Italian government after the conquest faithfully carried out the programme of the anti-Catholic Revolution. Religious orders suppressed, the Roman College seized, churches turned into cavalry stables, priests drafted into the army, the patrimonies of ecclesiastical institutions squandered, episcopal sees left vacant, citizens and peasants weighed down with impossible taxes, national bankruptcy imminent in spite of gigantic robberies; a military and naval establishment far beyond the capacity of the country saddled on the nation, and the impoverished people crying for bread — these are the natural fruits of the crime of 1870.

Pius IX. outlived Victor Emmanuel as he had outlived Napoleon III. (d. 1873, at Chiselhurst in England). Victor Emmanuel died January 9, 1878, and was succeeded by his son Humbert. A saintly death closed the great Pontiff's life of trials, sufferings and triumphs, February, 1878. Before the enemies of the Church had time to concert any hostile plans of action, the Cardinals had assembled at the Vatican and had chosen as Supreme Pontiff Cardinal Pecci, the Archbishop of Perugia. He assumed the name of Leo XIII.; a name now honored not only within the Catholic Church, but throughout the civilized world.

Chev. O'Clery. ch. XXIII.-XXV., pp. 480-541. — Count Henry d'Ideville — Wegg-Prosser: *Rome and Her Captors; The Piedmontese in Rome.* — Henry Formby: *The Italian Occupation of the City of Rome*, A. C. Q., v. 1. — Browne: *The Italian Occupation of Rome, 1870-91*, M. '91, 3. — Michael: *Zusammenhang zwischen d. 18 July and 20 September, 1870*, I. Th. Z., 1892. — W. O'C. Morris: *The Campaign of Sedan; Moltke* — Hooper: *Campaign of Sedan.* — Busch: *Bismarck in the Franco German War.* — Hogan: *Marshal MacMahon*, A. C. Q., 19. — *Marshal Canrobert*, E. R., 96, 1.

§ 9.

THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE.

511. Fall of Metz. — The investment of Paris was completed on September 19. After a futile attempt to obtain peace without territorial sacrifice the government of the National Defense established a delegation or branch government at Tours. Gambetta who escaped from Paris in a balloon, was placed at its head as dictator. With indefatigable energy the delegation undertook to organize two provincial armies, the army of the Loire and the army of the North.

The Prussians, meanwhile, had continued to advance. Toul and Strassburg fell in September, Orleans and other cities in October. But all those disasters palled before the decisive catastrophe, the fall of Metz, where provisions had given out October 21. October 27, Marshal Bazaine surrendered the town and its forts, 1,300 guns and all the material of war, 173,000 French soldiers became prisoners of war; 3,000 officers were liberated on parole, and 20,000 sick remained in the conquered town; 200,000 German soldiers were thus set free to attack the untried levies of the provinces.

512. Attempts to Relieve Paris. — A part of the army of Metz was sent to assist in the siege of Paris. Another part under Manteuffel defeated the French levies of the North at Amiens (November 27). The defeated army recovered itself and made several attempts to gain the road to Paris, but was finally defeated at St. Quentin (January 19).

Frederic Charles with the main force released at Metz marched against the army of the Loire. This army had defeated the Germans under Gen. von der Tann and recovered Orleans, the first real French success in the war. It was now advancing upon Paris to co-operate with a great sortie which had been planned for November 30. Frederic Charles first stopped its advance upon Paris, then by a series of victorious engagements around Orleans (December 2–4) he cut the army of the Loire in two, recaptured Orleans, and finally almost annihilated the southern army near Mans (January 12).

As a last desperate means of saving Paris Gambetta resolved to throw 140,000 men under Bourbaki across Alsace into Germany. The Germans under Werder took up a very strong position near Belfort. Bourbaki's forces, though superior in numbers and unquestionably brave, but young, untried, badly fed, and imperfectly armed, stormed for three days the German entrenchments; but they were finally repelled and driven to seek refuge in the neutral territory of Switzerland.

513. Capitulation of Paris, January 28, 1871. — Meanwhile the deadly embrace of the Prussian siege had drawn closer and closer around Paris. The army of the capital exhausted its strength in unavailing sorties. The great sortie of November 30 in which Trochu and Ducrot won two important positions from the Germans, failed in the end through the non-appearance of the army of the Loire. The last great sortie with 100,000 men (January) was repulsed with heavy losses. With the defeat of Bourbaki all hope of relief vanished. Paris was in a state of famine; over 40,000 persons had already succumbed to the privations of the siege. Nothing remained

but to capitulate. The terms were signed January 28. All the forts with their munitions of war were surrendered. The artillery on the city walls was dismounted. The troops in Paris as prisoners of war were disarmed, save 12,000 men necessary to maintain public order. At the request of Jules Favre the national guards also were kept under arms to counteract imperialist designs. The city had to pay a war contribution of 200,000,000 francs. A truce afforded the time for the election and the meeting of a National Assembly which was to decide the question of peace or war. The new Assembly met at Bordeaux September 12, and elected Thiers head of the Executive Department. It became his painful task to arrange the preliminaries of peace with the inexorable chancellor of the German Empire. The terms provided the cession of Alsace with the exception of Belfort, and German Lorraine with Metz and Thionville, in all 4,700 square miles with one and a half million inhabitants, and the payment by France of a war indemnity of five milliards of francs in three years, to be secured in the meantime by a German occupation of French territorty. The preliminaries were ratified in the definitive Peace of Frankfort, May 10, 1871.

514. The German Empire, January 8, 1871. — The German Empire was the outcome of the victories in the French war. The initiative was taken by Crown Prince Frederic. After the battle of Woerth he advised the Kings of Southern Germany, that a sufficient force was in the field "to coerce those who might resist the proposal of a German Empire." The next step was an agreement at Versailles by which the four Southern States of Germany formally joined the North German Confederacy. Thereupon Prince Bismarck asked the King of Bavaria to propose a revival of the imperial title to the rest of the German princes, with a hint that in his default others might be found to advance the proposal; the Diet too would be willing to put the motion. The King of Bavaria in his letter of November 30 to King William at Versailles expressed his confidence, that the President of the German Confederacy in his new dignity would exercise his rights in the name of the whole German Union and its princes, and formally proposed that the President of the Confederacy should assume the title of German Emperor. After all the sovereign States and the three free cities had signified their

approval, the title of German Emperor was conferred on William I. and his successors in the palace of Louis XIV. at Versailles, January 18, 1871.

The new German Empire has no legal connection with the old Roman Empire of the German Nation. Hence the time from 1806–1871 was not an interregnum. The Empire is merely a continuation of the North German Confederacy extended, under a new name, to the southern States. The Constitution of the Empire is essentially that of the Confederacy adopted in 1867 and confers no power on the Emperor which he had not already as President of the Confederation. William I., in his unassuming way, repeatedly declared that he had no other wish than to be the commander-in-chief of the Confederation and the first among equals. The assumption by the Emperor of powers not contained in the Constitution belongs to a later period.

W. O'C. Morris: *The War of 1870-71 after Sedan. — Franco-German War*, Staff edition. — *Moltke;* Hozier: *Franco-German War.* Also: E. R. '86, 4; '90, 1. — Broglie: *An Ambassador of the Vanquished.* — Malleson: *The Refounding of the German Empire, 1848-71.* — v. Sybel: *Founding of the Germ. Emp. by William I.* — H. Clarke: *The Government of the National Defense.*— S. Denis: *Histoire Contemporaine: La Chute de l'Empire. Le Government de la Défense Nationale. L'Assemblée Nationale. Federal Constitution of Germany*, transl. and ed. by Jones.

§ 10.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC IN FRANCE.

515. Outlook in Paris — The suicidal policy of Jules Favre in keeping the national guard under arms for party purposes began to bear its fruit as soon as Paris was evacuated by the German troops. These guards whose ranks were swelled by Socialists and Communists of all nations, amounted to nearly 100,000 men. They had concealed and appropriated a powerful artillery under pretext of saving it from the Prussians. The attempt of the government to repossess themselves of the cannon led to a general uprising of the Red Republicans and Communists. What was worse, a great number of regular troops joined the insurgents and murdered the two generals, LeCompte and Thomas. The government which had its seat at Versailles, withdrew the loyal regiments from the capital. They were accompanied and followed by crowds of respectable inhabitants. In the city the Central Committee of the National Guards summoned the people to elect members to a socialistic

Commune into whose hands they intended to resign their self-assumed powers. The Commune was proclaimed March 28. It declared the authority of Thiers' government and of the National Assembly at Versailles "null and void." Then began a reign of terror inaugurated by a section of the Commune called the "Internationale;" churches and banks were plundered all over the city. Mgr. Darboy, the Archbishop of Paris, and 200 other ecclesiastics and prominent citizens, were thrown into prison as "hostages." The German authorities still holding Versailles, allowed the prisoners of Sedan and Metz to reinforce MacMahon's army to the number of 150,000 men. In all other regards they maintained strict neutrality.

516. Second Siege of Paris. — The second siege of Paris, this time Frenchmen against Frenchmen, began April 8. A sortie of the insurgents was repulsed, and the prompt execution of two leaders of the Commune (Duval and Flourens) added fuel to the revolutionary violence in Paris. The bombardment of the forts and of the city was directed from the parallels which the Germans had constructed. By May 8th all the outworks of the Communards were taken. On May 21 the assailants drove the defenders from the walls at the gate of St. Cloud, and MacMahon, apprized by a Parisian of the unguarded condition of the gate, entered the city. For the next seven days pandemonium reigned in Paris. The Communards, mad with despair, were resolved that if the Commune was to perish the city must share its fate.

Bands of men and women armed with petroleum cans ran hither and thither, firing public buildings or private houses, or seized batches of victims to be hurried off to death. The Tuileries, the Palais Royal, the buildings of the ministry and other palaces were delivered to the flames by these "Petroleurs and Petroleuses." The Versailles troops pressed on from street to street, across barricades and burning squares, eager to save the hostages. But they were too late. Archbishop Darboy, President Bonjean, and four companions were shot by the Communards on May 24, and forty-three hostages, priests, Jesuits, and soldiers on May 26.

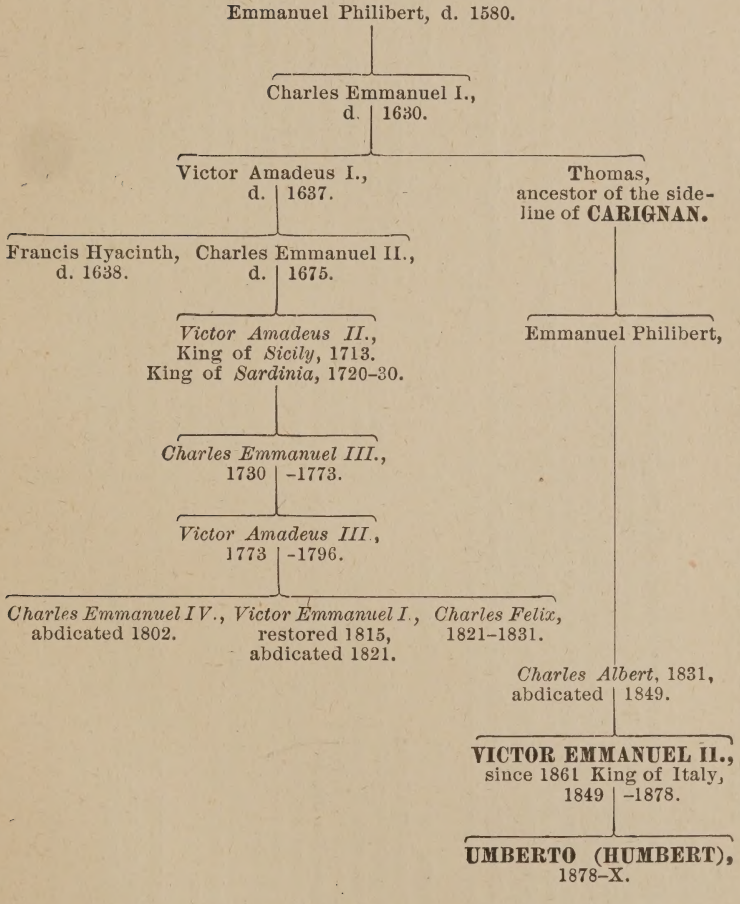
The Cemetery of Père la Chaise was the scene of the final struggle. No quarter was given. Of the leaders of the Commune many had fallen in the strife, as many as were caught were shot on the spot.

Some 40–50,000 Socialists were captured. Of these 10,000 were set free without trial; others were shot en masse; the rest were reserved for trial, and later on sentenced to imprisonment, transportation, or death.

517. The Third Republic. — The Assembly which had been elected to decide the question of peace or war stood two-thirds for a monarchy; but they were divided into Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists. By combining their votes, however, they succeeded in bringing about the resignation of Thiers and the election of the monarchist MacMahon in 1873. The Count of Paris, the heir of the Orleans family, offered to relinquish his claim to the throne, if the Count of Chambord, who represented the direct Bourbon line, would accept the tricolor, the emblem of the revolutionary monarchy. But the fusion of Orleanists and Legitimists was frustrated by Chambord's life-long refusal to enter into any compact with the Revolution, and France fell back upon the Republic with MacMahon as President. The Constitution of 1875 gave France a Chamber of Deputies elected by manhood suffrage and a Senate of 300 members. Seventy-five life-Senators were elected by the National Assembly, and after its dissolution by the Senate itself, the rest of the Senate by electoral colleges. The executive power was placed in the hands of the President to be chosen by the Senate and the Chamber for seven years and re-eligible. He was to be surrounded by a responsible ministry, and wielded almost all the powers of a constitutional monarch, but could be impeached by the Chamber at the bar of the Senate for high treason. The division of the monarchical party and the alertness of the Republicans increased, in every new election, the Republican majority, which gradually glided down to the radicalism of late years.

Lamazon: *The Paris Commune; Hist. Documents.* — G. Vesinier: *Hist. of the Commune of Paris.* — G. O. Lissagaray: *Hist. of the Commune of 1871.* — Berthal: *Communists of Paris.* — Leighton: *Paris Under the Commune.* — Knight: *Days Before the Commune*, M. '79, 2, 3. — *The Commune of Paris*, E. R. 71, 4. — A. G. Knight: *The Prisons of Paris Under the Commune; Distinguished Incendiaries of the Commune*, M. '79. 3. — *Marshal MacMahon's Government of France:* D. R. '73, 4. — Ch. Chesnelong: *La Campagne Monarchique d'October, 1873*, see also D. R. '96, 2. — *The Fall of the Duc de Broglie and the Crisis in France:* D. R. '74, 3. — *A Modern Cath. Prince* (Count of Chambord): M. '85, 2.

THE HOUSE OF SAVOY,


Emmanuel Philibert, d. 1580.
Charles Emmanuel I., d. 1630.
Victor Amadeus I., d. 1637.
Thomas, ancestor of the side-line of CARIGNAN.
Francis Hyacinth, d. 1638.
Charles Emmanuel II., d. 1675.
Victor Amadeus II., King of Sicily, 1713. King of Sardinia, 1720–30.
Emmanuel Philibert,
Charles Emmanuel III., 1730 –1773.
Victor Amadeus III., 1773 –1796.
Charles Emmanuel IV., abdicated 1802.
Victor Emmanuel I., restored 1815, abdicated 1821.
Charles Felix, 1821–1831.
Charles Albert, 1831, abdicated 1849.
VICTOR EMMANUEL II., since 1861 King of Italy, 1849 –1878.
UMBERTO (HUMBERT), 1878–X.

WARS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

I. THE CRIMEAN WAR. 1853–56.

Causes. — 1. *Nicholas I.* withholding his full recognition of Napoleon III. as Emperor.
2. *Napoleon's* desire to draw the attention of his subjects from the internal government of France to a foreign war.
3. Rivalry of *Russia* and *France* in the *Holy Land* and at the *Ottoman Porte*.
4. Russia's traditional policy of conquering Turkey taken up by Nicholas I.
5. The occupation of *Moldavia* and *Wallachia* by the Russians (1853).
6. The refusal of Russia to evacuate the Danube Principalities induced England (*Palmerston*) to enter into alliance with France and to declare war upon Russia.

Belligerents and Allies.— Closely allied: *Turkey*, *France*, *England*, and since the end of 1854, *Sardinia*, (*Cavour*); loosely allied: *Austria* and *Prussia* against: *Russia* under *Nicholas I.* (1825–1855), and *Alexander II.* (1855–1881).

Campaigns.	*Battles, etc.*	*Victory of:*	*Treaties.*
1. Invasion of the Principalities by the Russians. The Turks cross the *Danube*, 1853. Unsuccesful siege of *Silistria*. Threatened with war by *Austria* and *Prussia*, the Russians evacuated the Principalities, which were occupied by the Austrians with Turkey's consent.	*Oltenitza.*	*Omer Pasha* over *Russians.*	**CONGRESS AND PEACE OF PARIS**, 1856. *France*, *England*, *Russia*, *Austria*, *Turkey*, *Sardinia* (treated on a level with the Great Powers) and *Prussia* represented.
	Sinope.	Turkish squadron destroyed by the Russian Sebastopol fleet.	Terms: 1. *Restoration of Sebastopol* (docks and fortifications razed) and other Crimean conquests to Russia.
	Silistria besieged by the Russians.		2. Russia had to draw back its frontiers a few miles from the *Danube*, restore *Kars*, and renounce protectorate over the Christians of Turkey and the Principalities.
2. The allied fleet landed first at *Varna*, then in the *Crimea*.	*Alma.*	*Marshal St. Arnaud* and *Lord Raglan* over the Russians.	3. Turkey had to grant the Christians equal treatment with the Turks. Reassertion of the principles of *neutrality*. Lawless interference of the Congress (*Cavour*) in the internal affairs of the Italian States.
SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL, 1854–55 (*Todleben* soul of defense). *City* occup. by the Allies, Sept., 1855.	*Balaklava.*	Russians over English.	
	Inkermann.	Allies over *Mentchicow.*	
	Malakoff Tower	stormed by the French.	
3. Campaign in *Asia*.	*Kars*	captured by the Russians.	

II. **WAR OF FRANCE AND SARDINIA WITH AUSTRIA**, 1859, for the conquest of *Lombardy* and *Venetia*.

Causes.—1. *Cavour's* policy to unite Italy under the *House of Savoy*.
2. Napoleon's obligations to the *Carbonari* (himself a member) to work for an independent Italy (The *Orsini bombs*).
3. Agreement between *Napoleon* and *Cavour* at *Plombières*.
4. National armaments under *Garibaldi, etc.*, approved by *Victor Emmanuel*.
5. Austria's ultimatum for the disarmament of Piedmont.

1. The Austrians under *Gyulay* cross the *Ticino*.	*Montebello*.	Allies over *Gyulay*.
2. The Allies cross the *Ticino*. Campaign in *Lombardy*.	**MAGENTA**.	*Canrobert* and *MacMahon* over *Gyulay* and *Clam Gallas*.
3. *Garibaldi*, meanwhile, maneuvering along the spurs of the Alps.	*Malignano*.	Allies over Austrians.
4. Rising of *Tuscany*, *Modena*, *Parma*, and the *Romagna*.	**SOLFERINO** (June 24).	*Napoleon III.* over *Francis Joseph I*.

PRELIMINARY PEACE OF VILLAFRANCA, July 11, settled by *Napoleon III.* with *Francis Joseph I.*, without consulting *Sardinia*.

PEACE OF ZÜRICH, Nov. 16, 1859.
1. Cession of *Lombardy* to *Victor Emmanuel*.
2. *Venetia* to remain under *Austria*.
3. Restoration of the *Grand Duke of Tuscany* and the *Duke of Modena*.
4. Restitution of the *Romagna* to *Pius IX*.
5. An Italian Confederacy under the presidency of the Pope. In spite of the Peace of Zürich, the revolted provinces maintained their provisional governments and their dictators. Formation of the *Emilia* out of *Modena*, *Parma*, and the *Romagna*.

III. **SARDINIA'S WAR OF SPOLIATION AGAINST SICILY, NAPLES** (*Francis II.*), and the **STATES OF THE CHURCH**, 1860–61.

Causes.—1. The execution of the policy agreed upon by *Cavour* and *Napoleon*.
2. The weakness of Austria after the Italian war.
3. The co-operation of the Revolutionary (Republican) parties with Cavour.
4. The support in diplomacy, money, and men furnished by the Cabinet of *Palmerston* and *Russell* to the Italian Revolution.

1. Invasion of the island of *Sicily* by *Garibaldi*, supported by the Sardinian fleet under *Persano*.	*Catalafimi*, *Milazzo*, *Palermo*, *Messina*.	Victories of *Garibaldi* over the royal troops.	Results of the War: *Cession of Savoy and Nice to France*, March, 1860. *Annexation of Tuscany*, the *Emilia*, the *Papal States* (except the *Patrimony of St. Peter*) and *Naples* to the "*Kingdom of Italy*." Rome and
2. Invasion of Kingdom and City of Naples by Garibaldi. Treason			

WARS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.— *Continued.*

of Neapolitan generals and naval commanders.			the Patrimony of St. Peter guarded by a French army of occupation. *Victor Emmanuel II. King of Italy* by the vote of the National Parliament at Turin, Feb. 14, 1861. In Naples national movement in favor of the exiled King Francis II. (*"Brigandage"*) 1860-64. Rome declared *"Capital of Italy"* by the Chamber of Deputies, March 27, 1862. *The September Convention* of 1864. Meanwhile *Florence* the capital of Italy.
3. *Invasion of the Papal States* by 70,000 Piedmontese regulars under *Fanti* and *Cialdini*.	**CASTELFIDARDO**, Sept. 18.	Cialdini's 28,000 over *Lamoricière's* and *Pimodan's* 5,000 Papal troops.	
4. Attack on Ancona by land and sea.	**FALL OF ANCONA.**	*Persano* and *Cialdini* over *Lamoricière.*	
5. The Campaign on the Volturno. Conquest of Naples and Sicily.	**FALL OF GAETA**, Feb. 13, 1861.	*Cialdini* over *Francis II.*	
5. Intended invasion of Papal States by Garibaldi, 1862.	*Aspramonte* (Southern Italy).	*Garibaldi* defeated by Italian troops.	

IV. WAR OF 1866 (THE SEVEN WEEKS' WAR) OF PRUSSIA AND ITALY AGAINST AUSTRIA.

Causes. — 1. **BISMARCK'S** resolution to force a war with Austria for the aggrandizement of Prussia.
2. A war of *Austria* and *Prussia* with *Denmark* about *Schleswig-Holstein*, leading to complications between the two allies, 1864.
3. Quarrels between Austria and Prussia about the administration of the Duchies.
4. Prussia's scheme to annex *Schleswig-Holstein.*
5. A reorganization of the German Confederacy proposed by Prussia intended to destroy Austria's preponderance.
6. The secession of Prussia from the German Confederation.

Belligerents. — **WILLIAM I. KING OF PRUSSIA** (*Bismarck*); *Victor Emmanuel*, King of Italy (*La Marmora*); the smaller North German States against **FRANCIS JOSEPH I.**, Emperor of Austria, allied with the Kings of *Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, Hanover*, etc.

1. The Conquest of *Schleswig, Jutland* and the island of *Alsen*, 1864.	Storming of the entrenchments of *Düppel*	by the Prussians.	**PEACE OF VIENNA**, 1864, *Jutland* restored; the Duchies left at the disposal of the allies.
2. *Campaign of 1866* in Germany; invasion of *Saxony, Hanover, Hesse*, and occupation of *Middle and Southern Germany* by the Prussians.	Capitulation of **LANGENSALZA.**	Hanoverians surrender to Prussians.	**TREATY OF GASTEIN**, 1865, Austria to administer *Holstein*, Prussia *Schleswig*, under the joint sovereignty of the allies.
3. *Italian Campaign.*	**CUSTOZZA.**	*Archd. Charles* over *La Marmora.*	*Defensive and offensive alliance between Prussia and Italy ag. Austria;* Italy to annex *Venetia*, 1866.
	LISSA.	*Tegethoff* over *Persano.*	**PEACE OF PRAGUE** between *Prussia*

Bohemian Campaign.	*Trautenau.* *Münchengrätz; Soor.* **SADOWA** or **KOENIGSGRÄTZ.**	*Benedeck* over *Prussians.* Prussian victories. *Wm I.* and *Crown Prince Frederic William* over *Benedeck.*	*and Austria* Aug. 23, 1866. *Austria* consented to the reorganization of Germany without Austria, to the annexations made by Prussia, and the cession of *Kenice* to *Italy.* *Prussia* annexed *Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse, Nassau,* and the free city of *Frankfort.*
After Sadowa, occupation of Prague and Brünn and advance towards Vienna.			
SEQUENCE OF THE WAR in Italy — owing to the agitation for complete unity and the withdrawal of the French army of occupation.	Invasion of the *Patrimony of St. Peter* by 12,000 *Garibaldians* and 50,000 Italian regulars.	**MENTANA.** Gen. *Kanzler* over *Garibaldi.*	**PEACE OF VIENNA** between *Austria* and *Italy*, Oct. 3, 1866. *Venetia* was united with the Kingdom of Italy, and the Kingdom of Italy recognized by Austria:

Results of the War.—1. **IN GERMANY. NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION.** The *Bundesrath* representing States and Princes; the *Reichstag* representing the people. Southern Germany in military alliance with the north. The *whole* army under the control of the King of Prussia.

2. **IN AUSTRIA.** The uniform monarchy changed into the dual *Austro-Hungarian* monarchy; *Cisleithania* and *Transleithania* with separate constitutional governments united in personal union under the Emperor.

3. **FOR FRANCE.** Napoleon's friendship for Prussia cost him the future alliance of Austria. Sadowa presaged the fall of Napoleon.

V. THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR OF 1870-71, AND THE FINAL WAR OF SPOLIATION IN ITALY.

Causes —1. Popular clamor in France for the left bank of the Rhine as the natural frontier.

2. The refusal of Prussia after its late aggrandizement to restore the balance of power by territorial cessions to France (the *Luxemburg question*).

3. Increasing political troubles in France.

4. The determination of **BISMARCK** to bring about a war with France (the *Ems* telegram).

5. The candidacy of the *Prince of Hohenzollern* for the throne of Spain (Hohenzollern incident).

6. The war excitement in Paris stirred up by the Republicans and Socialists, for the purpose of overthrowing Napoleon.

Belligerents and their forces.—**WILLIAM I., KING OF PRUSSIA,** Commander-in-chief of *all* the German troops; **VON MOLTKE,** chief of staff; strength of the army 850,000 men; right wing, Gen. *Steinmetz;* centre, *Prince Frederic Charles;* left wing, *Crown Prince Frederic William,* against:

WARS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.— *Continued.*

1. **NAPOLEON III.**, Commander-in-chief; *Marshal Leboeuf*, chief of staff; *Marshal MacMahon* at Strassburg; *Marshal Bazaine* at Metz; strength of the army 320,000 active troops, 300,000 reserves in course of formation.
2. After Sedan the government of National Defense, and its new raw levies (army of the *North* and army of the *Loire*). French declaration of war, July 19.

1. Preliminary Campaign in *France.*

Weissenburg, Aug. 4.
Woerth, Aug. 6.

Forbach, Aug. 6.

2. *Campaign of Gravelotte;* main army of the French cut in two. *Capitulation of Sedan;* Napoleon surrenders.

Neuilly, Aug. 14.
Vionville, Aug. 16.
GRAVELOTTE, Aug. 18.
SEDAN, Sept. 1.

3. *Italian Campaign.* Invasion of the *Patrimony of St. Peter* by 80,000 Italians under *Cadorna.*

Bombardment and **CAPITULATION OF ROME**, Sept. 20, 1870.

4. *Campaign in France.* After Sedan all the French efforts (outside of *Alsace* and *Lorraine*) were directed towards raising, all the German operations towards maintaining, the *Siege of Paris*, Sept. 19, 1870—Jan 20, 1871.

Fall of *Toul*, *Strassburg*, *Orleans*, *Metz*, Oct.
Amiens, Nov. 27.

Beaune la Rolande, Nov. 28.
Battles around *Orleans*, Nov. 28—Dec. 4.

Mans.

Belfort (Jan. 15–17).
CAPITULATION OF PARIS, Jan. 28, 1871.

Germans over French.
Crown Prince over *MacMahon.*
Retreat of main army upon Metz.
} German victories.
William I. over the French.
Germans over (a) *MacMahon*, (b) *Ducrot*, (c) *Wimpffen.*
Cadorna with 60,000 men over *Kanzler* (whole Papal army 13,000 volunteers).
CAPITULATION of the army of **METZ**, Oct. 27.
Manteuffel over the *Army of the North.*
Fred. Charles over the *Army of the Loire.*
Fred Charles. Army of the Loire cut in two; second capture of *Orleans.*
Fred. Chas. Army of the Loire annihilated.
Werder over *Bourbaki.*

The **NEW GERMAN EMPIRE** (*not* a continuation of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation) proclaimed at *Versailles*, Jan., 1871. **EMPEROR WILLIAM I., 1871–88.** *Bismarck*, Chancellor of the Empire.
The *Capitulation of Paris* included a truce for the election and meeting of a National Assembly to make peace.
PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE AT VERSAILLES, Feb. 26, 1871.
PEACE OF FRANKFORT ON MAIN, May 10, 1871. France ceded to Germany *Alsace* (except *Belfort* and its territory), *German Lorraine* with *Metz* and *Thionville* (1,700 square miles and 1,500,000 inhabitants) and engaged herself to pay a war indemnity of five milliards of francs within three years, secured meanwhile by the German occupation of French territory.
At *Versailles* a Provisional Government under *Thiers* and National Assembly.

5. **REVOLUTION IN PARIS;** the *Commune.* The National Guard kept under arms during the peace negotiations. The Socialists and Communists had hidden away a powerful artillery before the capitulation of Paris. The Prussians at Versailles neutral.	The attempt of the Versailles Government to repossess themselves of the cannon led to an uprising of **THE COMMUNE.** Reign of terror in Paris inaugurated by the "Internationale." Imprisonment of hostages.	**SECOND SIEGE OF PARIS,** by the troops of Versailles, April 6–May 27. Street fights between the Versailles troops and the Commune; Petroleurs and Petroleuses; murder of hostages, May 21-28; suppression of the revolt, May 28.	**THE THIRD REPUBLIC, 1871-X,** A new Constitution adopted in 1875. A president surrounded by a responsible ministry, for the term of seven years, re-eligible; a Chamber of Deputies elected by manhood suffrage; a Senate of 300 members.

VI. **THE TURCO-RUSSIAN WAR OF 1877-78.**

Causes.—1. Revolt in *Herzogowina,* supported by *Montenegro* and *Servia* against the Turkish government, 1875.
2. Declaration of war by *Prince Milan of Servia,* and *Prince Nikita of Montenegro* against Turkey (Servia made terms with the Porte in 1877).
3. A revolt in *Bulgaria* suppressed; Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, which caused the indignation of Europe, 1876.
4. Russia proclaimed herself the protector of the oppressed Christians, especially of the Slavonic population of Turkey.
5. Turkey refused to *guarantee* fair and equal treatment of the Christians after she had *promised* it in a Constitution for the Ottoman Empire (*Abdul Hamid II*), 1876.
6. Thereupon Russia, finding no allies, declared war alone upon Turkey, 1877.

1. *Campaign on the Danube.*	1. The Russians crossed the *Lower Danube,* occupied the *Dobrudja* (peninsula between the Danube and the Black Sea), and advanced southward. 2. Passage of the Danube at *Shistova.*	Army under *Grand Duke Nicholas;* Gen. *Zimmermann.* *Main army* under **ALEXANDER II.**	*Truce of Adrianople,* Jan. 31, 1878. **PEACE OF SAN STEFANO** (near Constantinople), March 3, between *Russia* and *Turkey,* somewhat modified by the strenuous friendship of England for the Turk exhibited in the **CONGRESS OF BERLIN,** under *Bismarck's* presidency, June 13 - July 13, 1878.

WARS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.— *Continued.*

2. *Campaign in the Balkans.*	The *Shipka Pass* (July 17-19) stormed by	Gen. *Gurko.*	Stipulations of the Congress of Berlin.
	Suleyman Pasha repulsed from the *Shipka Pass* (Aug.-Sept.) by	Gen. *Gurko.*	1. Independence of *Montenegro*, *Servia*, and *Roumania*, with some territorial additions.
	Capture of *Nicopolis* (July 15).		2. Larger *Bulgaria* to be an autonomous tributary principality with a Christian government (*Alexander of Battenberg* chosen by the notables).
3. Campaign of Plevna. After a series of Russian reverses, union of Roumelian troops and Russian reinforcements. Plevna made the Russians masters of the situation.	*Siege of Plevna*, Sept. 7.	Defended by *Osman Pasha.*	3. Smaller *Southern Bulgaria* to remain as *East Roumelia* under the immediate rule of the Sultan, who granted a separate militia and a Christian governor-general.
	Bloody defeat of the Russians at *Plevna* (Sept. 11).		
	SURRENDER OF PLEVNA with 40,000 men, Dec. 16,	to Gen. *Todleben.*	4. *Austria* received the military occupation and administration of *Bosnia* and *Herzogowina.*
4. Advance upon Constantinople. Armistice of Adrianople.	*Sophia* taken by	Gen. *Gurko.*	
	Philipopolis taken by	*Gurko* and *Skoboleff.*	5. Russia obtained *Batoum* (as a free harbor) *Kars*, *Ardaghan*, and some border territories.
	Adrianople taken by	*Skoboleff.*	
5. Campaign in Asia.	Capture of *Kars* and conquest of *Erzerum.*	*Grand Prince Michael* in command.	6. Political equality of all denominations in Turkey and in the States separated from her.
			England, by a secret treaty with Turkey, took *Cyprus.* To silence the violent opposition of France to this measure, *England* granted to *France* a free hand in *Tunis.*

CHAPTER III.

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES AND ITS CAUSES.

§ 1.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

518. Slave Laws. — The slavery question was the pivot on which the fate of the Union turned for decades. The system as it legally existed in the Southern States, was opposed to the first principles of the natural law. A slave was only "a chattel personal, to all intents and purposes whatsoever." (Laws of S. C.) "Personal property consists of specific articles, such as slaves, working beasts, animals of any kind etc." (Md.) Not only were human beings bought and sold like cattle, leased, seized for debt, bequeathed by will, but a harmless negro could be forcibly seized at the will of his master or by process of law, and mercilessly separated from wife and children for the rest of his life. Only in Louisiana the slave was fixed to the soil. The innocence and virtue of younger slaves had no legal protection. A white father could sell his colored children at pleasure.

519. Treatment Allowed by Law. — The coarsest food, clothing and lodgings was all that the owner was bound to provide for his slaves. He could hold them to labor for fifteen hours a day in summer and fourteen in winter, whilst convicted felons in the same States could be held to work only for nine and eight hours respectively. A convention of slave holders held in South Carolina, came to the conclusion that it was more profitable in *cotton-raising* States to use up the slaves in seven years, than to care for their health, as the supply could be cheaply replenished from *slave-breeding* States. For offenses committed slaves could with impunity be loaded with iron, confined in dungeons, whipped till the blood streamed from their wounds, beaten to any extent short of death or

dismemberment, by the sole authority of the master. Fugitive slaves were pursued with blood hounds, starved whilst hiding in swamps, and most cruelly abused when captured. In Tennessee and Georgia a master was not prosecuted if a slave died under correction. In South Carolina the murder of a slave was punishable by a fine of 700*l.* or seven years imprisonment. If a slave was killed in the heat of passion or by undue correction the penalty was $500 or imprisonment not exceeding six months. Cutting out the tongue, or pulling out the eyes of a slave, or burning him or depriving him of a limb was punishable by a fine of 100*l.* Although these and a few other similar laws were passed to afford some protection to a slave's life, they were practically illusory, because it was universal slave law, that the testimony of a colored person, *bond or free*, could not be admitted in any court.

520. Education and Social Position of the Negro. — The education of the negro, free or slave, was strictly forbidden under legal penalties. White persons, others than the masters, who taught slaves to spell, read and write, were fined from $100 to $500, or imprisoned for six months and upward at the discretion of the court. Free colored teachers, male or female, were visited with whippings from 26 to 59 stripes on the bare back, or fines, or both. Free negroes were liable to be reduced to slavery at any moment by the legal presumption that every black man is a slave. The free negro could not testify in his own behalf. Manumitted negroes and their free children were often kidnaped in the North. They could be rescued only at great expense, by sending white witnesses a journey of 500 or 1,000 miles. This presumption worked so wickedly in several slave States that manumitted and free persons of color could be arrested at any time and advertised as runaway slaves. No owner appearing, the jailer was directed to sell them at public auction to cover the expenses of imprisonment. The capital itself was constantly the scene of slave auctions and chain gangs of negroes being conveyed to the South. Some of the worst slave laws were passed in colonial days, others after the establishment of the Union.

The brighter side of slavery is thus described by H. E. Scudder: "There were good masters who cared for their slaves. They gave them clothing

and houses, and gardens in which to raise vegetables. They amused themselves with the little children in play with their own families. They took care of them when they grew sick and old. They encouraged the slaves also in going to church and frequently gave them religious instruction. But they carefully kept books and papers out of the hands of the blacks. They did not think it wise to give them schools. For the most part the slaves were an idle, easy-going people. They were affectionate and warmly attached to their masters and mistresses if these were kind to them. They had their holidays, and when Christmas came, they flocked to the great house to receive their presents." The slaves of humane and Christian families, of Catholic households, of clergymen, and religious communities enjoyed a better lot than after emancipation. But the kindness with which good masters treated their slaves could not palliate the iniquity of the system as based on the public laws.

521. **Effects of Slavery.** — Slavery was the real reason of the backwardness of the South in population and wealth as compared with the North. The prosperity of the North was based on free and intelligent labor. The farmer and workingman labored for a purpose, for his children for the future. In the South the rich man did not need to work; he gave his time to politics, to literature, to social enjoyment. Slaves worked only under compulsion, slowly, carelessly, and stupidly. They had nothing to gain by industry and economy. The poor whites, the great majority of the white population, did not wish to work. They grew up in the belief that work was a disgrace, a sign of slavery. Thus they became a shiftless and thriftless portion of the community.

522. Slavery in the Constitution. — Negro slavery had been a part of the colonial policy of Great Britain. The first Continental Congress, 1774, in its opposition to the mother country, declared that no more slaves should be imported. This law remained unchallenged for two years. But when the original draft of the Declaration of Independence was presented to Congress in 1776, Jefferson's arraignment of George III. for having forbidden to restrain "the execrable commerce," was stricken out at the request of the slave States. This was the first concession of independent America to the slave interest. In the Articles of Confederation, 1778, the topic of slavery was carefully evaded. The foremost statesmen of Virginia, Washington, Lee, Henry, Madison, as well as many of the largest planters, were opposed to the continuance of slavery, but saw no practical way for effecting an immediate change. The Convention of 1787, whilst excluding the name of slavery from the Constitution, admitted nevertheless three important provisions in its favor.

Art. I., Sec. 2: Representatives shall be apportioned by adding to the whole number of free persons, three-fifths of "all other persons" (slaves). The result of this clause was not that the rights and interests of the *slaves* were represented in Congress, but that the vote of one slaveholder owning fifty slaves became of as much weight in Congress as the votes of thirty freemen. For this reason the free states wanted the importation of slaves stopped. This demand led to the compromise of Art. I., Sec. 9. The importation of "such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit" (slaves) shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808. The third compromise was contained in Art. IV., Sec. 2: No "person held to service or labor" (slaves) in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." This clause led to the passage of two cruel fugitive-slave laws.

By these clauses the Constitution of the United States fully acknowledged slavery as an institution to be dealt with by the individual States themselves. In the South, slave labor was deemed profitable and was retained and jealously guarded by legislation. In the North, where slavery was unpopular, the work of abolition had begun immediately after the War of Independence and was now gradually brought to completion. In the Northwestern Territory, i. e., the vast tract west of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio river, not yet organized into States, slavery was forever inhibited by the great Congressional Ordinance of 1787.

Von Holst: *Constitutional Hist. of the U. S.*, vol. I. — Wilson: *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power.* — Hildreth: *Despotism in America.* — Stroud: *Sketch of Laws Relating to Slavery.* — Cairnes: *The Slave Power.* — Clarke: *Anti-slavery Days.* — McDougall: *Fugitive Slaves.* — Douglas: *Life and Times by Himself.* — Sneede: *Memorials of a Southern Planter.* — McMaster; Scudder; Johnston: *Histories of the U. S.*

§ 2.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

523. Proslavery Feeling Increasing in the South. — The institution of slavery in the Southern States received a powerful impulse by the cotton gin (gin engine), which Ely Whitney invented in 1793 for the separation of the seed from the cotton. This contrivance quadrupled the efficiency of slave labor, gave a mighty stimulus to the raising and exportation of cotton, filled New England with spinning mills, and did more than anything else to fasten slavery on the United States for the next seventy years. In the

twenty years following the invention the growing demand of slave labor in the Gulf States trebled the price of slaves, and made slave breeding a profitable business in Virginia. Up to December 31, 1807, slave labor could still be procured by importation. But in 1808 the law prohibiting the importation of slavery from abroad went into effect. Again the spirit of compromise destroyed the beneficent action of the law, as far as negroes smuggled into the States under foreign flags were concerned. For whilst the importers forfeited the right of buying and selling slaves illegally imported, and were heavily punished — on paper — the States and territorial courts were allowed to sell such negroes as slaves for the benefit of the public treasury. The slave hunt on the African coast went on as before and from 13,000 to 15,000 negroes were annually imported into the Southern States with scarcely any forfeitures under the law of 1807. The law of 1819 which declared the foreign slave trade to be piracy was hardly more effective. The internal slave trade with its center in Washington constantly assumed greater dimensions and more shocking forms.

524. **Admission of New States.**— The slavery question had an important bearing on the admission of new States into the Union. The Northern States with their growing population steadily increased the number of congressional votes. To maintain a balance of power, at least in the Senate, the South required the same number of States as the North. Hence it became the policy of the Senate to couple the admission of a white State with that of a black State and *vice versa*. When Kentucky applied for admission into the Union as a slave State, the Senate insisted on the simultaneous admission of Vermont. Accordingly Vermont was admitted as a free State in 1791, Kentucky which had still to make its Constitution in 1792. Tennessee followed in 1796, Louisiana in 1810, Mississippi in 1817 and Alabama in 1819, as slave States, whilst Ohio, admitted in 1802, Indiana, 1817, and Illinois 1818, adhered to the fundamental Ordinance of 1787, and adopted free State Constitutions. Thus in 1819 there were eleven free States and eleven slave States in the Union. The petition of Missouri for admission in 1819 raised the question what should be done with the Louisiana purchase, the vast country beyond the Mississippi. The North maintained that slavery should not be further extended because it was wrong. The South maintained that slavery was right and that the further extension of slavery was for the South a question of self-preservation.

525. The Missouri Question, 1817–23. — The angry and stubborn contest about the admission took place in the "era of good

feeling" as Monroe's administration is termed. The collapse of the Federal party had left the political field to the Republicans who now began to be called Democrats. The petition of Missouri came up in 1818. The slave-holders of Missouri demanded a slave State Constitution. A Northern member (N. Y.) moved an amendment that the further introduction of slavery should be prohibited in the new State, and that all colored children born in Missouri should become free at the age of twenty-five. Though the proposition was fiercely resisted by the South, it passed the House of Representatives, 1819. But the bill was sent back by the Senate with the anti-slavery amendment struck out. Neither of the Houses gave way and no decision was reached.

526. The Missouri Compromise, 1820. — In the new Congress which met in 1819 the opponents of the Missouri "limitation" were aided by Maine's application for statehood. The majority of the Senate coupled the admission of Maine as a free State with the admission of Missouri without any limitation as to slavery. In the lower House a new amendment was brought in to make the prohibition of slavery "absolute and irrevocable;" but it failed to receive a majority of votes. The whole country was in a state of feverish excitement. The close of the session drew near with little hope for an agreement. At the last moment the North weakened, and agreed to a compromise proposed by Henry Clay of Kentucky. This Missouri Compromise (1) admitted Maine as a free, and Missouri as a slave State. (2) Decreed that a prolongation of the Southern boundary line of Missouri, i. e., the parallel of 36° 30′ should divide the Louisiana Purchase into two parts, and that all the territory north of this line except Missouri, should be free soil. It was silently implied that all the territory south of this line, including Florida, which had just been acquired from Spain (1819), might become slave soil. The next sixteen years no more States were admitted. The Missouri Compromise divided, by a fixed law and a geographical line, the North and the South into two rival sections. The party history of the United States since 1820 became the history of the slavery question.

527. **The Slave Power.** — The number of slave-holders was only about 400,000 as against the 5,000,000 of free whites in the South. Yet as only

slave-holders had a chance of election to State legislatures, governorships, and to Congress, the slave power, by its compact unity, its threats of secession and the support which it received for party reasons from the Northern Democrats, won the victory in all the Congressional battles connected with the interests of slavery.

McMaster: *Hist. of the People of the United States*, v. IV. ch. 39; *School Hist. of the U. S.—Historical Significance of the Missouri Compromise* (Report American Hist. Assoc., 1893, pp. 251–297).— Quincy: *Life of Josiah Quincy.* — C. Schurz: *Henry Clay.*— C. Colton: *Life, Corresp. and Speeches of H. Clay.* — H. Greeley: *American Conflict*, v. 1.

§ 3.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND NULLIFICATION.

528. The National View of the Constitution. — Besides slavery a second question of principle lay at the bottom of the difficulties which led to the great Civil War. After the adoption of the Constitution in 1787 both parties, Federalists and Republicans, professed their attachment to the Union and the Constitution. But gradually two conflicting schools of interpretation began to divide Northern and Southern politicians. The Union school always held, that the United States *is* a Commonwealth and its Constitution the organic and fundamental law of the land, adopted not by the States, but by the people of the whole country in its aggregate capacity. This view had its strongest support in the wording of the Constitution itself: "We, the people of the United States, do ordain and establish this Constitution." The government has the power to act directly by its own legislative, judicial, and executive machinery upon every *individual* of the country. The States are directly denied the great attributes of sovereignty. "No State shall coin money or pass laws impairing the obligations of contracts, or maintain armies and navies or grant letters of marque, or titles of nobility or make treaties with foreign powers," etc. The only act of high treason recognized in the Constitution is the taking up of arms against the *Union*. "This Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of a State to the contrary notwithstanding." The Constitution was ratified not by the States as such but by conventions of delegates, convened especially for this purpose within each State.

529. State Sovereignty. — According to the theory of State Sovereignty developed by the Democrats, especially by Jefferson and Madison, the United States *are* a Confederation of sovereign States, a copartnership of commonwealths, which, by a mutual contract, whilst retaining the exclusive guardianship of their domestic affairs, have ceded to the Federal Government the exclusive control of their international and interstate relations. In this theory the Constitution was not an organic law but a contract. The Federal Government was the creature of the States. The powers were delegated and could be withdrawn, the Union could be dissolved by the States or even by one State.

530. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. — This theory was for the first time publicly asserted in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799. They were drawn up in the respective State legislatures against two temporary laws of Congress passed during the troubles with France, and were sent to the different States. The Alien Act restricted the naturalization of foreigners and empowered the President for two years to send aliens out of the country. As a matter of fact he never did so. The Sedition Act decreed fines and imprisonment for all persons found guilty of having spoken, written, or acted seditiously against the Union Government, and was smartly enforced. The Virginia Resolutions drawn up by Jefferson, and the Kentucky Resolutions drawn up by Madison, agree in declaring that the Constitution of the United States is a contract to which each State is a party, and that the two laws were unconstitutional. They disagree in the means to be adopted against alleged encroachments of the central government. The Virginia Resolutions asserted in rather vague language, that *the States* had, within their limits, the right of interposing, if Congress exercised powers not granted by the said compact. The Kentucky Resolutions declared, that whenever the general government assumed undelegated powers, its acts are "unauthoritative, void, and of no force," and asserted for *each State* the right of deciding, whether a law of Congress is constitutional or not, and of applying remedies against it. The Resolutions were received with disfavor by the public. Seven States declared that the Alien and Sedition Acts were constitutional. The rest ignored the Resolutions. The following year (1799) Ken-

tucky declared that a State had the right of nullifying a United States law which it thought to be illegal. Thus the adherents of State Sovereignty claimed rights for the States, which the Constitution had reserved to the Supreme Court. The great significance of the Resolutions lay in the fact, that they were never officially challenged, withdrawn or recalled, but were left on record ready for future use.

531. Split of the Democratic Party. — The unity of the Democratic party which prevailed in the election of Monroe, broke up with his refusal to accept a third term. In 1824 five presidential candidates were in the field: Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina were nominated by various assemblies; W. H. Crawford by a congressional caucus. Jackson received the greatest number of votes, but no majority. Accordingly the election was thrown into Congress, which chose the statesman John Quincy Adams (1825–29). The adherents of Jackson were greatly disappointed, and the Democratic party split into three factions: (a) The National Republicans, also called "Adams or administration men." They advocated a protective tariff and internal improvements (roads, canals, etc.) at national expense. (b) The Democratic Republicans or "Jackson men" cared little for protection and improvements. (c) A third, the anti-Masonic party, owed its origin to the murder of Mr. Morgan, a Freemason, who had threatened to publish the secrets of the order. In 1828, Jackson, the bluff and irritable Indian fighter, the idol of the people, was triumphantly elected (1829–1837). He was the most original figure in the line of presidents. With Jackson the politician presidents entered the White House. He introduced and vigorously applied the principle: "To the victor belong the spoils."

532. New Differences Between the North and the South. — The great industrial development which followed the second war with England widened the gap between the free and the slave States. In the North cities grew up, canals were dug, railroad and steamboat lines opened and industries of every sort established. Naturally these rising industries clamored for the protection of a high tariff. In the South the planters cared nothing for cities, industries and public improvements, worked their rice, tobacco and cotton plantations with slave labor, and being only consumers, considered the high tariff policy of the North as injurious to their interests. Disregarding the opposition of the Southern members, the

representatives of the Middle and Western States, under the leadership of Henry Clay, passed the tariff of 1824. Loud and bitter were the protests of the South, when this tariff was raised still higher in 1828.

533. Nullification. — Calhoun, the able and eloquent leader of the South, urged the meeting of a State convention in South Carolina to decide in what manner the tariff acts should be declared "null and void" within the limits of the State. The agitation in the South assumed so menacing a tone that Congress thought it expedient to lower the tariff in 1832. The measure, however, was far from pacifying South Carolina, which opposed the principle of tariff protection in any shape. Accordingly a State convention was called which declared the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 null and void in South Carolina, and forbade the people to pay the duties. This Act of South Carolina "nullifying" a general law of Congress, was a direct attack upon the Constitution of the United States. Calhoun resigned his position as vice-president, and was at once returned by his State to the Senate. When Congress met in December, 1832, Jackson asked for powers to collect the tariff duties by force of arms. Harris, the Governor of South Carolina, declared that if this force bill would become a law, his State would leave the Union. It was on this question that the famous oratorical duel took place in the Senate between Calhoun, who asserted, and Webster, who denied, the right of nullification and secession. Henry Clay, alarmed at the prospect of a civil war, slipped in as mediator between the wrangling parties. He proposed an annual reduction in the tariff until in 1842 the duty on imported goods should be equal to twenty per cent of their value. This compromise tariff satisfied the parties, and South Carolina repealed the ordinance of nullification. The danger of a civil war was adjourned to a future period.

Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, Alien, Sedition, and other Acts (1894). — McMaster Hist., etc., v. II. — Motley: *Causes of the Civil War.* — Von Holst. v. I. — Wilson: *Division and Reunion* (*Epochs of Am. Hist.*) 1829–89. — Houston: *A Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina.* — Rhodes: *Hist of the U. S.* — Randall; Schouler: *Life of Jefferson.* — Morse; Seward: *Life of John Quincy Adams.* — *Madison's Works*, v. 4. — Rives: *Hist. of the Life and Times of Madison; Lives of Jackson* (Parton), *Clay, Calhoun* (Von Holst), *Webster* (Lodge).

§ 4.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

534. Jackson — Harrison — Tyler. — Political animosity and the clamor of the people and of the State banks prompted Jackson to destroy the United States Bank by vetoing a new charter (1832) and by withdrawing the government deposits from its vaults (1833). The consequences were the establishment of a great number of State banks — sound and unsound (wild cat banks) — a period of furious speculation especially in land, and the financial panic of 1837 with its countless failures and widespread misery. The continuation of the panic cast a shadow on the Democratic administration of Martin Van Buren (1837–41), and contributed to his defeat for re-election in 1840. He was opposed by the *Whigs*, as the National Republicans called themselves since 1834, and by the Anti-slavery Party, who for the first time put a candidate in the field. A wave of popular enthusiasm carried William N. Harrison the Whig candidate into the White House. Harrison, however, died a month after his inauguration, and Vice-President John Tyler, a Democrat at heart, took his place (1841–45).

535. Annexation of Texas. — Since the admission of Missouri two other States had joined the Union, the slave State, Arkansas, and the free State, Michigan. The balance of power in the Senate was still intact but could not long remain so. For south of the line 36° 30′ Florida was the only territory left which could be turned into a slave State, whilst north of the line a vast country was ready for increasing the free State system. Under these circumstances the Southern statesmen cast their eyes on the immense territory of Texas which lay south of the line and was suitable for slavery. Texas, however, belonged to the Republic of Mexico. Like other Spanish States in America, Mexico, in 1827, had abolished slavery in all its dominions. The American slaveholders who had entered Texas, defied the law of the land which they occupied, and finally rebelled against the government of Mexico in 1853. The rebels, amply supported by the United States, defeated Santa Anna, the President of Mexico, in 1836 (at San Jacinto) and set up the independent Republic of Texas. Whilst the United States, England, France, and Belgium recognized the new State, Mexico refused to acknowledge its independence. Texas now applied for admission into the Union. The Free Soil parties opposed the annexation because slavery existed

in Texas. Thereupon Tyler surprised the Senate in 1844 with a treaty of annexation secretly concluded with the authorities of Texas. The Senate rejected the treaty, but the Democrats at once adopted the annexation of Texas as a party measure. To disarm the opposition of the growing anti-slavery parties, they coupled the annexation of Texas with the acquisition of Oregon which was free soil territory. On this platform they elected their candidate, James V. Polk, 1845–49. The annexation of Texas was accomplished in 1845 by a joint resolution of Congress. Two slave States were now admitted into the Union, Florida in March, and the organized portion of Texas in December, 1845. Four other States were to be carved out of the remaining territory of Texas. The line of the Missouri Compromise was to regulate the admission or exclusion of slavery. The admission of Iowa in 1846 and of Wisconsin in 1848 restored the senatorial equilibrium.

Oregon was then the territory comprising all the country from the Rocky mountains to the Pacific. The coast line stretched as far north as Russian Alaska. The northern part, however, was an object of dispute between the United States and England. The American claims were exploration and settlement. Pending the dispute Oregon was jointly occupied by both Powers. The Democratic platform called for the acquisition of *all* Oregon, but England refused to be excluded from the Pacific seaboard. A treaty with England finally established the present boundary line in 1846. The American part of Oregon was organized as a free territory in 1848.

536. The War with Mexico. — The annexation of Texas led to war between Mexico and the United States. Texas claimed that the Rio Grande formed its western boundary line, and President Polk adopted the claim. Mexico maintained that the river Nueces marked the boundary. Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to cross the Nueces and to advance to the Rio Grande. The Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande and attacked the Americans. Thereupon Congress decreed that war existed by the act of Mexico. Polk called for 50,000 volunteers and appointed General Winfield Scott commander-in-chief. Taylor after a number of successful engagements reached Saltillo and defeated Santa Anna in the bloody battle of Buena Vista (February, 1847). Whilst Taylor was winning victories in northeastern Mexico Colonel Stephen W. Kearney con-

quered New Mexico and proclaimed it to be United States property. From Santa Fé he started to seize California but on arriving found the work already accomplished. Commodore Stockton and his fleet, and Frémont, "the Pathfinder," of the United States army, had combined their forces when the news of the war reached them and now held California for the United States.

Meanwhile General Scott, reinforced by 10,000 of Taylor's men, had landed in Vera Cruz in March, and began his memorable march to Mexico over the road first traversed by Cortez. Whilst he took town after town and won an uninterrupted series of small victories, his army by losses in the field and by disease dwindled down to 6,000 men with whom he triumphantly entered Mexico, September, 1847.

537. The Peace of Guadaloupe Hidalgo, 1848. — In the Peace of Guadaloupe Hidalgo, Mexico gave up to the United States 522,568 square miles comprising Texas, New Mexico, and California, and received $15,000,000 in return. By a supplementary treaty the United States obtained in 1853 an additional tract of 45,535 square miles from the Rio Grande to the Gulf of California, for which it paid $10,000,000.

538. The Wilmot Proviso. — The acquisition of this immense territory raised the slavery question anew. The opponents of slavery demanded that it should remain free soil. As early as 1846 David Wilmot of Pennsylvania had moved that the money necessary to indemnify Mexico should be granted, *provided* that all the Mexican acquisitions should be free soil (Wilmot Proviso). The slave power insisted that the entire territory should be open to slavery. The refusal of both Whigs and Democrats to speak out on the question led to the formation of the Free Soil party. It was joined by many Democrats and Whigs who favored the Wilmot Proviso. Their motto was: free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men.

539. Development of the Abolition Party. — The different parties, ranged either against the extension or the existence of slavery, grew out of the opposition to the Missouri Compromise. The original Abolition party was founded by William Lloyd Garrison in 1831. It numbered among its members Wendell Phillips, the friend of Daniel O'Connell.

The Garrisonians refused to vote under the Constitution which was to them "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," because it permitted slavery at all. They worked for a dissolution of the Union and other extreme revolutionary measures. Other leaders like John Quincy Adams, John P. Hale, Salmon P. Chase, Charles Sumner, W. N. Seward, opposed the extension of slavery by constitutional means. In 1833 the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized and entered the field of national politics. Whilst they allowed each State the exclusive right of regulating slavery within its borders, they petitioned Congress to abolish slavery in all the Territories and in the District of Columbia, to admit no new slave States, and to suppress interstate slave trade. The means they employed were organization, meetings and a literary propaganda.

540. **Pro-slavery Parties and their Tactics.** — The anti-slavery agitation was opposed, apart from the Southern slave power, by professional politicians of the Democratic and Whig parties in the North, office-seekers, men like Webster and Everett who dreaded a Southern secession and the dissolution of the Union, preachers who feared a disruption of the churches, merchants who were alarmed over their business interests, conservative men of all parties who were shocked at the extravagance of language employed by the Abolitionists, and who rightly opposed the revolutionary radicalism of the Garrisonians in other questions. The contest was embittered by extreme measures resorted to by the advocates of slavery. Anti-slavery literature was taken from the mails and burned with the approval of the Postmaster-General. Congress suppressed the Right of Petition by the "gag rule" (1836–44). Partisans of the lower class broke up public meetings, destroyed schools for free negro children, smashed the presses of the anti-slavery societies, and resorted even to political murder.

The formation of the Free Soil party sufficienty weakened the Democrats to play the election into the hands of the Whigs, who elected Z. Taylor, President, and Millard Fillmore, Vice-President, 1848. Slavery extension henceforth became the burning question in American politics.

Von Holst: *Const. Hist.*, v. II. — Benton: *Thirty Years' View.* — Greeley: *History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension.* — Bancroft: *Hist. of the Pacific States.* — Williams: *Sam Houston and the War of Independence in Texas.* — Ladd: *Hist. of the War with Mexico.* — Mansfield: *Hist. of the Mex. War.* — Howard: *Gen. Taylor.* — Scott: *Memoirs*, by himself. — Curtis: *Life of D. Webster.* — Sumner: *A. Jackson as a Public Man.* — *Lives of J. Q. Adams, H. Clay, Calhoun.* — Shepard: *M. Van Buren.* — Johnson: *Garrison and His Times.* — *W. Lloyd Garrison*, by his children. — *Lives of Wendell Phillips:* Austin (*Life and Times*); Martyn (*Am. Reformers*). — *James G. Birney and His Times.*

§ 5.

THE VICTORY OF THE SLAVE POWER.

541. The Compromises of 1850. — Taylor was hardly inaugurated when Calhoun issued a manifesto signed by all the Southern members of Congress. This document, supplemented by several State resolutions (Virginia, Tennessee, South Carolina), demanded a more stringent fugitive slave law, cessation of the anti-slavery agitation, the retention of both slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the opening of all the Territories to slavery. In South Carolina the demands were accompanied by threats of a "Southern Confederacy." All the Northern State legislatures, save Iowa, asserted the right of Congress to exclude slavery from the Territories, and instructed their Congressmen to vote for the abolition of slavery and of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. An unforeseen event precipitated the struggle. The discovery of gold in California, 1848, caused a rush of immigrants from the East in 1849. To establish a government, the "forty-niners" drew up a free state Constitution and applied for admission into the Union. So bitter was the feeling on both sides that in 1850 a breaking up of the Union seemed imminent. But Henry Clay, "the great Compromiser," succeeded in postponing the crisis for ten years longer by his "Compromises of 1850." To appease the North, California was admitted as a free State, and the slave trade was abolished in the District of Columbia. To appease the South, slavery was retained in the District, territorial governments were organized for New Mexico and Utah without any restriction on slavery, and a stringent fugitive slave law was enacted, which exposed both escaped slaves and free negroes to capture without trial by anyone who claimed them.

Whilst the Compromises of 1850 strengthened the slave power in the South, they increased the opposition to slavery in the North. The invasion of the Northern States by "slave-catchers" and "man-hunters" did more than anything else to turn the opponents of slavery extension into open enemies of slavery itself. Popular feeling found its expression in "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

542. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill. — During the next ten years the slave power won new victories. It elected Franklin Pierce in 1852 and James Buchanan in 1856. Though Northerners, they were more submissive to the slaveholders than Southern men like Zachary Taylor. Before Pierce was many months in office the "irrepressible conflict" broke out anew. The proposed organization of two new Territories, Kansas and Nebraska, furnished the occasion. Both Territories were free soil under the Missouri Compromise. But Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who introduced the Kansas-Nebraska bill, added a clause expressly repealing the Missouri Compromise and opening the country north of 36° 30′ to slavery. The people of these Territories were to be left free to adopt a free soil or slave soil Constitution, when the time of a State organization should arrive. This scheme of Douglas was called Popular Sovereignty. The bill passed and was signed by President Pierce, 1854.

543. The Kansas Fight. — This law led to the formation of a new and exclusively Northern party, the present Republican party, which united all the anti-slavery elements, and was joined by disaffected Democrats and Whigs. Kansas became the battle-ground of the two parties. As soon as the Territory was opened for settlement, slaveholders of Missouri rushed into Kansas, located claims, founded Lecompton, Atchison, and other pro-slavery towns, and held the region along the Missouri river. Whenever an election was to be held, the Missourians crossed into Kansas, took possession of the polls, voted down the free state men and returned triumphantly. By these illegal elections they obtained a delegate for Congress in 1854, a pro-slavery government in 1855, and the Lecompton slavery Constitution in 1857. On the other hand the New England Emigrant Society, founded in 1855 to plant a free State in Kansas, sent its settlers into the Territory. They occupied the region south of the Kansas river, founded Topeka and other free towns, established an anti-slavery government, and passed the Topeka Free Soil Constitution of 1857. For a time anarchy and civil war was the order of the day. The constant influx of settlers from the North and Northwest gave the Free Soilers an overwhelming majority, and they applied to Washington for recognition. Buchanan ignored them, recognized the Lecompton government, and urged Congress to admit Kansas as a slave State. The project was defeated by the opposition of Douglas and the Northern Democrats. In 1858 the slaveholders of Kansas gave up the fight as lost. Kansas remained a Territory till 1861.

544. Dred Scott Decision, 1857. — Meanwhile the slave power had scored another point by the celebrated Dred Scott Decis-

ion of the Supreme Court. A slave by the name of Dred Scott had been taken by his master to Illinois and Minnesota, and thence back to Missouri. Here he applied for his freedom on the plea that his residence on free soil entitled him to emancipation, and obtained a favorable decision. Upon appeal of his master, Justice Taney handed down the decision, that Dred Scott could not sue in the United States court, because an African by descent could not be a citizen; as slave he was mere chattel, a black man had no rights which white men were bound to respect; Congress could as little shut out slave property from the Territories as it could shut out horses and cows; finally, that the Missouri Compromise, being *unconstitutional*, was null and void. This was Taney's judicial pronouncement and it expressed the legal views of the great majority of slaveholders. His personal feelings Taney had shown before by emancipating his own slaves. The decision opened the free Territories of Oregon, Washington and Minnesota to slavery, increased the recklessness of the slave power, rent the Democratic party in two, and prepared the victory of the Republicans who were more than ever determined to stop the extension of slavery into the Territories.

The excitement was increased by the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858, and John Brown's raid into Virginia, 1859. Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln were the Illinois candidates for the United States Senatorship. The questions publicly discussed by them were Popular Sovereignty, the Dred Scott decision, and slavery extension to the Territories. Lincoln was defeated in the election, but his great speeches won for him a national reputation.

John Brown, who had been a fighting Abolitionist in the Kansas struggle, conceived the plan of stirring up a slave insurrection. He invaded Virginia with about twenty followers and seized and held for a few hours the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry. But no slaves flocked to his standard and the daring adventurer was captured and executed by the State of Virginia. The money for Brown's undertaking had been furnished by a small secret committee of ardent Abolitionists at Boston. But public opinion in the South held the Republican party responsible for Brown's invasion.

545. The Election of Abraham Lincoln, 1860. — The disruption of the Democratic party took place at the national convention at Charleston and its adjourned session in Baltimore. The majority in Baltimore nominated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois on his platform of Popular Sovereignty modified by concessions to the

slave power. For the Vice-presidency H. V. Johnson of Georgia, a violent advocate of secession, was nominated to secure the Southern vote. This double-dealing policy was far from appeasing the slave power, and the seceders of Charleston and Baltimore nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky on a platform fully indorsing the Dred Scott decision and calling for further rulings in the same spirit. The Republicans met at Chicago and nominated Abraham Lincoln. Their platform repudiated the Dred Scott decision against the Southern Democrats, insisted on the free soil character of the Territories against the Northern Democrats, but denied all sympathy with any kind of interference with slavery in the States where it lawfully existed.

Nothing shows better the growth of Northern sentiment against the extension of slavery than the number of votes cast for anti-slavery candidates. The Liberty party formed in 1840 was the first to set up a presidential candidate, J. G. Birney. He received first 7,000, four years later 60,000 votes. The Free Soil party in 1848 registered 270,000 votes. The Republicans raised the number of votes in 1856 to 1,340,000 votes, and elected their candidate in 1860 by a popular vote of 1,800,000.

Von Holst: *Const. Hist.*, v. III. IV. — Rhodes' *Hist. U. S. from the Compromise of 1850.* — Wilson: *Rise and Fall.* — McMaster: *With the Fathers.* — Schurz's *Clay.* — Morse, Nicolay, and Hay: *Life of Lincoln.* — Tarbell: *Early Life of A. Lincoln* (1896). — Tremain: *Slavery in the District of Columbia.* — Howard: *Rept. of Decision and Opinions in the Dred Scott Case; Extracts from Decision, etc.* (1896). — Edwards, Hart and Armung: *Chief Justice Taney.*

§ 6.

CATHOLICS AND NATIONAL PARTIES.

546. The Catholic Hierarchy. — Whilst the slavery question with its kindred interests was the chief issue which divided the people of the United States, the religious question which originated in the opposition of a fanatical section of the people against the Church, made itself felt throughout the period. From small beginnings the Catholic Church had gradually developed into a great power in the land. In colonial times the Catholic Missions of Maryland and Pennsylvania, where Catholics enjoyed some measure of toleration, had been administered by Fathers of the Society of Jesus under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of London. This jurisdiction

ended by an official act of Pius VI. Upon the urgent representation of Benjamin Franklin, then minister to France, the Pope appointed the most prominent of the former Jesuits, Rev. John Carroll, "Superior of the Mission and Vicar Apostolic in the thirteen United States of North America," 1774. There were then 15,000 Catholics in Maryland, among them 3,000 negro slaves, 7,000 in Pennsylvania and perhaps a few thousand scattered in the rest of the States who were utterly deprived of all religious ministry. The Peace of Paris, 1783, and the free exercise of religion guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, drew increasing numbers of Catholics to the Republic. Hence Pius VI. formally established the American Hierarchy in 1789 by appointing John Carroll first bishop of Baltimore. His diocese comprised the whole of the United States. After the cession of Louisiana by France (1803), Right Rev. John Carroll became, moreover, administrator of Louisiana. In 1808 the diocese of Baltimore was divided and John Carroll made Archbishop of the See of Baltimore, with the bishops of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown as suffragans. With this event began the rapid development of the Catholic Church in the United States.

One archbishop and five bishops (three being absent) represented the Church in the first Provincial Council of Baltimore (1829), the first held in the nineteenth century, and the first in any English-speaking country since the Reformation. The first Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1852, was composed of six archbishops and twenty-seven bishops. Forty-nine prelates sat among the Fathers of the Vatican Council, whilst the third Plenary Council, 1884, saw thirteen archbishops, sixty bishops, seven mitred abbots, and the superiors of twenty-three religious orders within the walls of the Baltimore Cathedral.

547. Nativism. — From the beginning of the Catholic establishment throughout the history of the Union there existed a party, which, under the pretext of defending American institutions, carried on a warfare, sometimes open, sometimes secret, against the Catholic Church. The French Revolution and the Irish Insurrection drove thousands upon thousands of Irishmen and Frenchmen — among them a number of eminent priests — to the United States. Unnecessarily alarmed at this immigration the native Americans succeeded, 1798, in changing the term of residence preceding naturalization to

fourteen years. When the Republicans (Democrats) came into power, they reduced the term to five years. The fact that immigrants and Catholics found fairer treatment at the hands of the Democratic party than of any other, explains the affiliation of Catholics with this party before the Civil War, and their advocacy of slavery as a party measure.

548. **Causes of the First Outbreaks in the Thirties.** — Whilst there was no sign of hostility towards Catholics for nearly a generation, a series of European events revived the anti-Catholic and anti-foreign feeling in America.

(a) The formation of the Holy Alliance, its suppression of the revolutionary movements in Italy and Spain, its desire to reduce the revolted Spanish colonies in America which led to the proclamation of the Monroe doctrine, the Vienna lectures of the great German scholar and convert Frederic von Schlegel, in which he pictured America as the revolutionary school for Europe, and the foundation of the St. Leopold Society in Austria, Hungary, Italy, and France, for the purpose of establishing missions in the United States, were persistently misinterpreted as so many attempts of the Catholic Powers to destroy the free institutions of America.

(b) The decade was the period, when bishops, cathedrals, sisters of charity, sisters of mercy, convents, Catholic seminaries, colleges and schools, orphan asylums, and newspapers devoted to the faith, made their appearance in every great city, where within the memory of men all such institutions had been proscribed.

(c) This growth of the Catholic Church coincided with a period in which political agitation, turbulence, and riots, were the order of the day. Bigots of the worst type incited the imagination of the Protestants with tales of horror fathered upon the Catholics. In these days of excitement the Church of Rome was everywhere assailed from pulpit and platform. In New York St. Mary's Church was plundered and burned by incendiaries, and the Ursuline convent of Charlestown, Mass., given to the flames by the mob.

549. The Native American Party. — In the decade of 1830–40 more than 500,000 Europeans landed in New York alone. The number, though small in comparison with later arrivals, was very large for that time. Unfortunately, many immigrants aired their old-world antipathies in the new. Irishmen and Scotchmen, Catholics and Orangemen, paraded and fought in the large cities of the United States and Canada. Moreover, the Catholics had two real grievances connected with the public school system, which they endeavored to remedy at the polls. Conscience obliged them to

maintain their own parochial schools, whilst for the maintenance of the public schools the State forced them to pay a second tax. Accordingly they demanded that a share in the educational funds should be granted to them, and that in public schools the Protestant bible should not be forced on Catholic children. The latter demand was complied with in the course of time; but Catholics never obtained justice in the matter of double taxation. Whilst these questions were agitated the cry again rose: Twenty-one years of residence before citizenship. As the Democrats and the Whigs in their party platforms indorsed the cause of the immigrants, the Nativists and bigots, in a State convention of Louisiana, 1841, formed a new party, the Native American party. Its principles were: Twenty-one years of residence; no officials but native Americans; no union of Church and State; keep the bible in the schools; oppose the encroachments of Popery. The successes of the party were only local in New Orleans, St. Louis, Philadelphia, New York, New Jersey, etc.; but the party caused the dreadful riots of May and July in Philadelphia, where many lives were lost, and the seminary, churches, convents, and dwellings inhabited by Catholics were looted and burned. The authorities on the whole sided with the rioters, whilst many fair-minded Americans, here and elsewhere, boldly stepped forward in defense of the Catholics. A repetition of similar scenes in New York was prevented by the firmness of Bishop Hughes, the champion of Catholic education, and the Catholics of New York, who publicly declared that if the laws of the State would not protect their lives and property, they would know how to defend themselves. The declaration cowed the bigots into submission.

The collapse of the party was as rapid as its rise. Whilst the Native Americans elected six representatives to the Twenty-ninth Congress, not one of them found a seat in the Thirty-first. Before the end of the decade there was a complete lull in the anti-Catholic excitement.

550. New Attacks Upon Catholics. — The Nativist and anti-Catholic elements again joined forces in 1852, and allied themselves with the fugitive German and Italian revolutionists of 1848 and 1849. The ex-Carmelite "Father" Gavazzi, the Mazzinian apostate of the defeated Italian revolution, transferred his crusade of hatred and strife to the United States. When the Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Gaetano Bedini, landed in New York (1852) Gavazzi put himself at the head of the movement against Bedini, traveled over the

country, and made charges "which no rational man ever for a moment believed and which were soon proved to be utterly false." In his progress through the country the Nuncio was insulted, abused, burned in effigy, mobbed, and threatened with assassination. The government at Washington which had an accredited minister at the court of Pius IX. showed utter indifference to the acts of violence committed toward a diplomatic representative of the Holy See. In New England the anti-Catholic agitation was started at Boston by a street preacher who styled himself the Angel Gabriel. Wherever he went he raised the mob against the Catholic churches and people. In May the crowd attacked the Irish settlement at Chelsea and the Bellingham Catholic church. In June the Catholic church at Coburg was burned; July 3, an armed mob expelled a peaceful Catholic population from their homes at Manchester; July 4, the Catholic church at Dorchester was blown up with gunpowder; July 5, the Angel Gabriel led in the sacking and destruction of the church at Bath, etc., etc.

551. Know-Nothingism. — During this excitement the Supreme Order of the Star Spangled Banner, a net work of secret societies founded in 1852 somewhere in New York, began its insidious career. Owing to their extreme reticence, its members were called Know-nothings. It was greatly strengthened by European revolutionists and certain elements of the Whig party disrupted by the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The cardinal principles of the order were: 1. That no foreigners should be naturalized under twenty-one years of residence. 2. That the Catholic religion was a danger to the country. 3. That the Protestant bible should be the foundation of all common school education. The power of the order consisted in its secret management of the elections baffling all the calculations of the politicians. In 1854 the Know-nothings carried the elections in Massachusetts, Delaware, and partly New York. In 1855 it secured the legislature of Maryland and all but carried the States of Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. In the North the uprising against the Catholics was sweeping; the governors and legislatures of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Kentucky, and California were Know-nothings. This success encouraged the Grand Council of the order to enter the presidential campaign, and to nominate Millard Fillmore. But internal dissensions disrupted the many-colored party, and the new Republicanism swept Know-nothingism out of the North. Of 296 presidential electors the anti-Catholic party secured only eight and

sent twenty Representatives and five Senators to Congress. Two years later not one Native American came from any State north of the Potomac, save Maryland, where the anti-Catholic party existed three years longer, drew to itself all the ruffians in and around Baltimore, attacked and mobbed the first Northern regiment marching to the front and made the city the most lawless of the Union.

552. Change of Feeling. — A remarkable change in the attitude of the government took place under Lincoln's administration. The one man who was most bitterly hated by the Know-nothings, Archbishop Hughes of New York, not only enjoyed the full confidence of the President and the administration, but was sent to Europe on an extraordinary diplomatic mission to explain the state of affairs in America to the governments of France, Spain, and the Holy See. With the civil war the allegiance of Catholics to *one* political party ceased. After the war a trace of Know-nothingism showed itself in the Ku-klux-klan and the Whitecap organizations which terrorized the South since reconstruction days, whilst in the North the methods of Know-nothings have been revived by the A. P. A. or American Protective Association of 1894.

McMaster: *The Riotous Career of the Know-nothings: Forum*, July, 1894, p. 513. — Th. A. Becker, D. D.: *Secret Societies in the U. S.* — J. G. Shea: *Hist. of the Cath. Church in the U. S.*, 4 volumes (including Colonial Times.— Other Histories by O'Gorman; John O'Kane Murray; Macleod (*Rom. Cath. in North Am.*); Conry, etc.—*Know-nothingism in Kentucky, Cath. World '57.* — Hon. B. J. Webb: *Century of Catholicity in Kentucky.* — Hassard; Brown; *J Hughes, Archb. of N. Y.* — J. L. Spalding: *Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding, D. D., Archbishop of Baltimore.* — Harper: *The Church and the Constitution of the U. S.*, A. C. Q., v. 9. — J. G. Shea: *The Cath. Church in American Hist.*, Cath. World, A. C. Q., 1. — *Progress of the C. Ch. in the U. S. from the First Provinical to the Third Plen. Council*, A. C. Q., v. 9.

§ 7.

SECESSION.

553. Secession. — The election of Lincoln led to the secession of the Southern States from the Union. The South believed that the election of Lincoln meant the abolition of slavery, though neither Lincoln nor the Republican party save a small minority of extreme Abolitionists, harbored such an intention. South Carolina was the first to declare herself a "sovereign, free, and independent" State. Before February, 1861, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas joined South Carolina, established at Montgomery, Ala., "The Confederate States of America" and elected Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens provisional President and

Vice-president. The Constitution adopted was, on the whole, that of the United States except that it carefully guarded slavery and forbade a protective tariff. Many Southerners hoped that the act of secession would force their slavery views on the North and thus enable them to rejoin the Union. These seven cotton States formed the first area of secession. They were divided from the free States by a belt of wavering border States. Compromises were attempted but failed. Buchanan did nothing to stop the secession. Secession was wrong, he said, but he had no power to coerce seceded States. The seceders made good use of this inactivity. The United States soldiers who refused to join the movement were disarmed, and the forts, arsenals, dock yards, custom houses, mints, and other property of the United States, seized by the authorities in revolt. Southern officers of the army and navy resigned and offered their swords and services to the Confederacy. The South stood united, the North was divided and full of sympathizers with the South. Department officials reported every step of the government to the Confederate authorities. It was under these circumstances that President Lincoln was inaugurated March 4, 1861.

554. **Abraham Lincoln.** — Abraham Lincoln came from a poor family. He worked hard with his hands when a young man, but he was a passionate reader and took no interest in money-making. At twenty-eight he began to practice law, threw himself with keen zest into the political contests of the day, and was elected to the legislature of Illinois and to Congress. In private life he was a man of most kindly feeling and full of quaint humor. In his inauguration speech from the steps of the Capitol he clearly announced his policy: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery where it exists. I consider the *Union is unbroken*, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in *all* the States. In doing this — there shall be no bloodshed unless it shall be forced upon the national authority." He finally announced his intention to occupy the property and places belonging to the government. In conformity with this announcement he ordered men and supplies to be sent to Fort Sumter at Charleston. Thereupon General Beauregard, under the authority of the Governor of South Carolina, bombarded Fort Sumter for thirty-five hours. When food and powder were exhausted and the fort stood in flames, Major Anderson surrendered April 14, 1861, and was allowed to embark for New York with all the honors of war. Soon after the Confederacy formally declared war against the United States. The European Powers, on the whole, sympathized with the South, and recognized the Confederacy as a belligerent, but not as an independent

Power. Hence while slavery was at the root of the trouble, the civil war was really waged on the one hand to maintain, on the other to prevent, the Act of Secession. It was a war for the preservation of the Union.

555. War Preparations. — The bombardment of Fort Sumter united the loyal States to common action and put an end to the hesitation of the border States. Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia joined the Confederacy. Forty-eight western counties of Virginia, however, remained loyal and formed the new State of West Virginia (admitted in 1863). The northern border States, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri remained in the Union, though many secessionists from these States joined the Confederate army. The Southern government transferred its capitol to Richmond. President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to serve for three months. Many more instantly responded to the call. New summonses for a three years' service raised the effective strength of the Union army to 183,500 men under the general command of Winfield Scott. The Union army was distributed along a line of 2,000 miles passing through northern Virginia along the Potomac, across Kentucky, Missouri, the Indian Territory, to New Mexico. Jefferson Davis called upon the Confederate States for volunteers and soon regiments were hurried to the Potomac from the North and the South.

556. Character of the War. — The war that followed exhibited three groups of military operations. (a) The great conflicts were waged in the States bordering East and West on the Alleghany mountains, especially in the narrow territory lying between the two rival capitals, Washington and Richmond. (b) In the West the possession of the Mississippi river was a primary object with the North, partly to cut off Western supplies from the South, partly to have a basis of operation into the interior of the Confederacy. (c) Most of the minor hostilities were waged on the outskirts of the Confederacy, and consisted in lodgments on the coast to enforce the blockade of the Southern ports. With a few exceptions, the offensive was the Northern share of the struggle, the defensive the Southern.

King: *Turning on the Light; Buchanan's Administration* (1895). — Herndon; Schurz: *Lincoln.* — Chittenden: *Recollections of Pres. Lincoln and His Administration.* — Confederate States: *Ordinances of Secession, etc.* (1893). — Nicolay: *Outbreak of the Rebellion.* — Davis: *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government.* — Dodge U. S. A.: *A Bird's-Eye View of Our Civil War* (compact and unpartisan). — Crawford: *Genesis of the Civil War; Story of Sumter.* — Pollard: *Life of Jeff. Davis; Memoirs,* by his Wife (1890). — Scharf: *Hist. of the Confederate States.*

§ 8.

THE CIVIL WAR.

557. Bull Run and Wilson's Creek, 1861. — In Northern Virginia the Union General McDowell faced General Beauregard. The popular cry of the North: "On to Richmond!" induced Scott to order an attack. This first great battle of Bull Run (July 21), ended with the defeat and headlong rout of the Union army. The battle taught the North Americans the necessity of discipline. General McClellan, a splendid organizer, but slow and cautious in the field, was appointed to replace Scott. He was put in personal command on the Potomac, and spent the rest of the year and the following spring in drilling his army. In the West, too, the first hard-fought battle at Wilson's Creek, Missouri (August), was a Union defeat. A new call for 500,000 volunteers was issued.

558. The Opening of the Mississippi, 1862–63. — (a.) The Western forces were commanded by General Halleck, Union commander, and General Albert Sidney Johnston, Confederate. Under Halleck General Thomas drove the Confederates out of Eastern Kentucky (January, 1862). In February Commodore Foote captured Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Ulysses S. Grant Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. These victories broke the line of the Confederates, who withdrew to Corinth, Mississippi. Grant encountered them in the bloody battle of Pittsburg Landing or Shiloh (April 6–7). The fall of General Johnston and the timely arrival of Buell turned the Confederate victory into a defeat. Halleck now took personal command, and Corinth fell towards the end of May. Halleck then went to Washington to assume the chief command as McClellan's successor.

(b.) Two other divisions had meanwhile descended the Mississippi. The one under Curtis on the western bank of the river first drove the Confederates under Van Dorn and Price out of Missouri, and then defeated them in the desperate battle at Pea Ridge, Arkansas (March 6–8). Before the end of the year the entire western bank was in the hands of the Union forces.

(c.) The third division under Pope came down the great river with

Foote's gunboats and joined Grant's forces. The result was the fall of Memphis (June 6). These successes pushed the Union front eastward to a line passing through Memphis and Corinth to Chattanooga.

(d.) Whilst Grant and Foote opened the upper course of the Mississippi, Farragut entered the Mississippi from below, passed the forts of New Orleans under a dreadful fire, destroyed the Confederate fleet, and took the city (April 24–25). General Benjamin Butler then entered and held it with 15,000 men.

(e.) To break the Northern line stretching from Memphis to Chattanooga, General Bragg rushed across Tennessee and raided Kentucky, whilst Price and Van Dorn prepared to attack Corinth from Iuka and Holly Springs. Grant detailed General Rosecrans to deal with the enemy. Rosecrans first drove Price into the camp of Van Dorn (September 19), and subsequently routed both at Corinth (October 4). Four days later Bragg was defeated by Buell at Perryville in Kentucky and driven South. Grant now marched down the eastern bank of the Mississippi against Vicksburg. Once more Bragg undertook a raiding expedition to the North. But Rosecrans, who had been raised to the command of the Army of the Tennessee, defeated him in the battle of Murfreesboro, one of the most murderous in the whole war (December 31–January 2, 1863). No further attempt was made to recover Kentucky. Rosecrans remained at Murfreesboro till summer.

The situation in the West at the end of 1862 was this. The entire western bank of the Mississippi was in the hands of the United States. To the east of the river the Confederate line crossed Northern Alabama and Mississippi, touched the river at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, the only fortified places of the Confederacy on the eastern bank, and thence deviated eastward to the Gulf.

(f.) In April, 1863, Grant set about to reduce Vicksburg. Its position on a steep bluff 200 feet above the river made it well-nigh unassailable. After crossing and recrossing the river and defeating the Confederate Generals Joe Johnston and Pemberton in three battles, Grant laid siege to Vicksburg for seven weeks and starved it into surrender (July 4). The fall of Vicksburg and, five days later, of Fort Hudson, opened the Mississippi from source to mouth and cut the Confederacy in two.

559. McClellan's Peninsular Campaign against Richmond. — In the East the real campaign began in spring, 1862. The government desired the army of the Potomac to operate between Washington and Richmond. But the ground was intersected with rivers and numerous other obstacles. McClellan insisted on moving up the peninsula formed by the York and the James rivers. A compromise led to a threefold disposition of the troops. Frémont and Banks with a small army were to guard Washington against an attack from the Shenandoah Valley. McDowell was to march from Washington to Richmond. McClellan was to move up the Peninsula and join McDowell. But three brilliant Confederate Generals, Joe Johnston, Stonewall Jackson, and Robert Lee, spoiled the plan.

(a.) Johnston met McClellan at the lower end of the Peninsula, forced him to besiege Yorktown and Williamsburg, and to fight his way to White House Landing, whence McClellan turned in a southwesterly direction to the Chickahominy river to wait for McDowell.

(b.) Meanwhile Stonewall Jackson had come down the Shenandoah Valley and defeated the Union troops in five battles within thirty-four days, whereupon he joined the army at Richmond. The government, alarmed at these reverses, recalled McDowell to protect the capital.

(c.) McClellan, instead of being able to join McDowell, found Richmond reinforced by Stonewall Jackson, and Johnston still lying in his path. Johnston, however, wounded in the fighting before Richmond, had to be replaced by Lee. Lee in the seven days' battles in front of Richmond (June 25, July 1), stood his ground and compelled McClellan to retreat to Harrison's Landing. In August the Union army returned to the Potomac. It was during McClellan's stay at Harrison Landing, that Halleck was called to the chief command, and a new army, the Army of Virginia, was organized under General Pope. This army took up its position along the Rappahannock and Rapidan rivers and beyond to the Shenandoah Valley.

560. Lee's Raid into Maryland. — McClellan's retreat to the Potomac opened a way to Lee to invade Maryland. Lee first defeated Banks at Cedar Creek, then routed Pope on the old field of Bull Run, crossed the Potomac and entered Maryland. Pope had meanwhile joined McClellan near Washington. Both overtook Lee at Antietam Creek, where a great battle was fought September

14. It was so far a Northern victory as Lee found it necessary to recross the Potomac. The cautious McClellan was now superseded by the fiery Burnside in the command of the Army of the Potomac. Burnside met Lee and Jackson at Fredericksburg but was defeated with dreadful slaughter December 13. Thus at the end of 1862 the two hostile armies stood again in the old position, the Union army in front of Washington, the Confederate army in front of Richmond. Burnside made place for Hooker.

561. Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. — Hooker took the initiative in 1863 and moved against Lee only to be defeated with heavy loss at Chancellorsville (May 2–3) and to lose his command. The Confederates suffered perhaps a greater loss by the fall of Stonewall Jackson, Lee's right arm. Lee once more hurried across the Potomac, past Washington, through Maryland into Pennsylvania. He was hotly pursued by the Union army, now commanded by George G. Meade, and brought to a stand at Gettysburg. Here the greatest battle in the war was fought July 1–3. Lee, in the advantage for two days, was beaten on the third, and returned to Virginia, where he remained unmolested for the rest of the year. Gettysburg was the turning-point in the Eastern campaign.

Dodge: *Bird's-Eye View.* — Force: *Fort Henry to Corinth.* — Green: *The Mississippi.* — Mahan: *Farragut.* — Webb: *The Peninsula; McClellan's Own Story.* — Ropes: *The Army under Pope.* — Palfrey: *Antietam and Fredericksburg.* — Cist: *Army of the Cumberland.* — Bickham: *Rosecrans' Campaign, 1863.* — Doubleday: *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg; Gettysburg Made Plain.* — Hamlin: *B. of Chancellorsville* (1896). — Drake: *B. of Gettysburg* (1892); *Vicksburg and Gettysburg*, E. R., 83, 4. — (Southern View). — Pollard: *First Year of the War; The Lost Cause.* — Johnston: *Life of A. S. Johnston.* — J. E. Johnston: *Military Operations.* — Hughes: *Gen. Johnston* (1893). — Randolph: *Life of Stonewall Jackson.* — *Gen. Jackson, Life and Letters*, by his Wife (1892). — *Lives of Lee.*

§ 9.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE CONFEDERACY.

562. Movements in the West, 1863, Chickamauga and Chattanooga. — (a.) The feeling of relief caused in the North by the victory of Gettysburg was yet increased the following day by the news of the fall of Vicksburg, July 4 (cf. p. 381, f.). Whilst Grant was still besieging Vicksburg, Rosecrans left his headquarters at Murfreesboro, and by a series of skillful strategic movements pushed Bragg out of his important position at Chattanooga across the

Chickamauga Creek, where Bragg received reinforcements from Lee. Here a murderous two days' battle took place September 19–20, in which the army of Rosecrans was defeated. Rosecrans fled back to Chattanooga, whilst General Thomas stood his ground, covered the retreat, and earned the title of "The Rock of Chickamauga." Bragg then strongly fortified the heights around Chattanooga, especially the high Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, besieged the city for close upon two months, and nearly reduced it to starvation.

(b.) Grant, now one of the most prominent generals of the North, was sent to relieve Chattanooga, and to take command in place of Rosecrans retired. He was reinforced by Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Hooker, and a number of other generals in whom he confided. The sudden and irresistible assaults of the Union troops, November 23–25, swept the enemy from Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, etc., and saved Chattanooga. Braggs' army retreated to Dalton, where he was relieved by Joe Johnston. The result of the year's Western campaign was, that the Confederates were driven back from the Mississippi into the mountains of Georgia. Dalton and Richmond were now the only Confederate centers of resistance.

563. Marching through Georgia. — The campaign of 1864 opened with Grant holding the chief command of the Union forces as "Lieutenant-General" and in personal command of the army of the Potomac, whilst Sherman commanded the army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga. The two leaders agreed on a plan. Grant was to deal with Lee, Sherman to march to the Atlantic, and to cut the Confederacy in two from Northwest to Southeast, both operations to begin on May 4. Sherman having united the armies of the Cumberland, the Mississippi, the Tennessee, and the Ohio, started on the appointed day on his march against Johnston, drove him out of Dalton, and painfully worked his way through the mountains of Georgia towards Atlanta, constantly faced by the Confederates in Johnston's masterly retreat. As Sherman had everywhere to detail guards for the protection of the only railroad that brought him supplies, Johnston by his adroit maneuvering had so far weakened Sherman's army as to be ready to meet him with equal forces, when he was recalled by Jefferson Davis and replaced by Hood. This blunder of the Southern President at once altered the character of the campaign.

Hood made three furious attacks upon Sherman, but was each time defeated and finally abandoned Atlanta in order to draw Sherman northward. But Sherman sent General Pope after Hood into Tennessee, burned Atlanta, and proceeded on his march to the sea. In four parallel columns covering a belt of sixty miles, Sherman cut, raided, and burned a wide swath through Georgia from Atlanta to Savannah. He stormed Savannah in the middle of December, about the same time when Pope annihilated Hood's army at Nashville. Great was the surprise of Lincoln and the whole North, when Christmas eve brought news of Sherman, who for months had completely disappeared from view. After a stay of two months Sherman began his northward march through South Carolina into North Carolina. Again he was preceded by Johnston whom Jefferson Davis after the disaster of Nashville had placed in command of a new army. Sherman, however, safely reached Goldsboro, N. C., in March, 1865.

564. Grant's Campaign at Richmond and Petersburg.— Meanwhile Grant, too, had opened the campaign May 4, 1864. He crossed the Rapidan, entered the Wilderness, a vast tract of densely wooded country, and, constantly hammering away at Lee, shifted his ground to Spottsylvania Courthouse, to Cold Harbor, around the forts of Richmond, losing 60,000 men in four weeks without inflicting corresponding loss on the enemy, and finally sat down before Petersburg which was connected with Richmond by field works. The siege of Petersburg cost Grant 40,000 more. The siege lasted till spring, 1865, and prevented Lee from interfering in the West and the South.

In July, Lee sent General Early to make a diversion towards Washington with 20,000 cavalry. Twice Early dashed down the Shenandoah Valley; the first time he came within six miles of Washington; the second time he entered Pennsylvania and burned Chambersburg. These raids led to Grant's order to lay waste the Shenandoah Valley. Sheridan carried out the task and defeated Early at Winchester (September 19) a month later. During Sheridan's absence, Early attacked the camp at Cedar Creek and defeated the Union army. Sheridan heard the booming of the cannon at Winchester, started with forty followers for the camp, rallied the fugitives and turned the victory of the enemy into a rout (Sheridan's Ride).

565. Lee's Surrender, April 9, 1865. — In 1865 Lee's situation became desperate. Every seaport of the Confederacy was

in Union hands. Through Sherman's return Grant could dispose of 125,000 men against Lee's 60,000. The Union lines were drawn closer and closer around Richmond and Petersburg. Lee's last plan was to forsake Richmond, to join Johnston and to rush to the Alleghany Mountains in order to obtain better terms for the Confederacy. On April 2 and 3 he evacuated Richmond and Petersburg which were occupied by detachments of United States troops. Mismanagement on the part of the Confederate authorities left Lee without provisions. He was followed by Grant's main army and surrounded at Appomattox Courthouse, seventy-five miles west of Richmond. Here the greatest soldier of America surrendered to U. S. Grant April 6. Grant treated the Confederate army with due generosity. Neither Lee nor his officers were required to give up their swords. Each officer had to give his parole for himself and his respective command not to take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged. The men in the ranks were allowed to keep their horses for farm work. Johnston surrendered to Sherman April 16. The other Confederate Generals followed. Their soldiers were dismissed with free rations and conveyance under substantially the same parole. The fugitive Jefferson Davis was made prisoner by the Union cavalry in Georgia. He was confined in Fortress Monroe for two years and then discharged on bail without further trial (d. 1889). Not one soldier of the Confederacy was imprisoned; not one political leader executed. Their punishment consisted in temporary political disabilities. In an incredibly short time, the two vast armies of the North and of the South quietly dispersed to their homes and resumed the pacific occupations of private life. No act of lawlessness is on record to stain the repute of either army after the surrender. It was left to a small band of Southern conspirators headed by John Wilkes Booth to cut off, by foul assassination, the life of President Lincoln, who had well deserved of his country (April 14, 1865).

566. Naval Warfare, 1861-65. — (a.) The American navy, which at the outbreak of the war numbered thirteen available vessels out of ninety laid up or scattered abroad, grew in the course of the conflict into a fleet of 700 vessels, among them sixty ironclads, manned by 50,000 sailors. The task accomplished by this fleet was the blockade of 1,900 miles of sea-coast, the capture of every seaport and fort scattered along this estuary, the opening of the Mississippi and other rivers, and the destruction of the Confederate

cruisers. In the earlier period of the war blockade-running became a lucrative business. English goods first shipped to the West Indies, were run into Wilmington, N. C., and cotton run out; 1,504 blockade runners were captured or destroyed during the war.

(b.) The use of ironclads in this war (Merrimac, Monitor, etc.) revolutionized naval warfare, as no wooden vessel could resist them. It forced all the maritime nations to build new navies.

(c.) Whilst the blockade destroyed Southern trade, the Confederacy employed "Commerce Destroyers" like the "Sumter," the "Florida" the "Alabama," and the "Shenandoah" — the latter three built in England, — to destroy American commerce on the high seas. "The Sumter" was run into Gibraltar, and sold to escape capture. The "Florida" was captured in the Brazilian port of Bahia, by a violation of neutral waters, and when reclaimed, sunk by an "unforeseen accident" at Hampton Roads. The "Alabama" was sunk in the English Channel by the Kearsarge (1864). Only the "Shenandoah" escaped to England at the end of the war. An international arbitration board sitting at Geneva, 1872, obliged England to pay $15,500,000 for the damage inflicted by these cruisers.

567. Statistics. — The actual enlistments in the North, during the war, were 2,780,000 men, among them 80,000 negro soldiers. The regular army, however, never exceeded 67,000 men; the rest were volunteers. The South enlisted about 1,300,000 men. The forces in the field were about equal, for the North had to detail one-half of its men to garrison duty. The proportion to the military population was, in the North, four men out of nine; in the South, nine men out of ten. The losses from all causes amounted to half a million in the North, and nearly as many in the South. The cost of the war to the Union as far as ascertainable, was $3,400,000,000. In addition to the regular pay, the nation paid to the soldiers $300,000,000 in bounties, and will have paid, when the last veteran dies, $3,700,000,000 in pensions, making about $8,000 for every man who died in the war or survived. This sum, however, represents enormous frauds in obtaining and distributing the pensions, of which large sums never reached the soldiers, or reached undeserving subjects.

Cox: *Atlanta; The March to the Sea.* — Pond: *The Shenandoah in 1864.* — Humphrey: *Virginia Campaign; Camp. of 1864-65.* — Grant: *Personal Memoirs.* — Porter: *Campaigns with Grant* (1897); Lives by Brooks (1897); Church ('97); Wilson, ('97), E. R., '69, 1. — F. Lee: *Lee.* — Pollard: *Lee and His Lieutenants.* — White: *Lee and the Southern Confederacy.* — *R. Lee and the Civil War*, E. R., 73, 2. — Coppée: *Gen. Thomas Sherman; Letters, Memoirs* (1891). — Bowman and Irwin: *Sherman and his Campaigns.* — Headly: *Facing the Enemy.* — Davis: *Gen. Sheridan;* Sheridan: *Personal Memoirs — Lincoln,* by Schurz; Dana (*L. and his Cabinet*); Coffin (1892); Morse (1893); Brooks (1896); Rutherford: (*Ploughboy, Statesman, and Patriot*); Harris: *Assassination.* — D. M. de Witt: *Judicial Murder of Mary E. Surrat.*

General Histories of the War. — Dodge; Comte de Paris; Ropes (1894); Mahan (*Critical Hist.*); Seward (*Diplom. Hist.*); Porter: *Naval History.* — Pollard's Works; *Southern Hist. of the War.* — Scharf: *Hist. of the Confederate States Navy;* Johnson and Buell: *Battles and Leaders in the Civil War.*

§ 10.

THE END OF SLAVERY.

568. Thirteenth Amendment. — As early as January 1, 1863, President Lincoln as commander-in-chief of the army issued a proclamation setting free the slaves of all those persons who were engaged in war with the government of the United States. This partial emancipation, which was a mere war measure, did not apply either to the loyal slave States nor the Territories reconquered by the Union army. To complete the work of emancipation, a measure now plainly necessary for the peace of the United States, Congress in February, 1865, sent out the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which abolished slavery forever in the United States. The constitutional three-fourths of all the States — twenty-seven of the thirty-six States then in the Union — ratified the amendment. Sixteen of the ratifying States were free and eleven slave States. The amendment was formally proclaimed December 18, 1865.

569. Presidential Reconstruction. — With the collapse of the Confederacy all civil government in the South came to an end. To re-establish the laws of the United States was therefore the first duty of President and Congress. Lincoln's death left the question unsolved in the hands of Andrew Johnson, who, as Vice-president, followed Lincoln in office. Johnson at once set about to solve the problem without consulting Congress. He appointed provisional governors for the seceded States. The governors summoned State conventions which in their turn annulled the ordinances of secession, repudiated the Confederate debts, abolished slavery in their respective States, and ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. Before the end of 1865 all the seceded States had their organized governments and were recognized by the President.

570. Congressional Reconstruction — The Fourteenth Amendment. — If the new legislatures of the South had stopped with these measures, difficulties might have been avoided. But ten out of eleven legislatures deemed it necessary for the protection of the landowners to enact laws which were considered by the North as introducing a new form of involuntary servitude, if not actual

slavery. Colored persons who could not be forced to work as slaves, were to be forced as vagrants, apprentices, or paupers. Tennessee alone had respected the liberty of the freedmen. Accordingly when Congress met in December, 1865, it ignored the President's work and refused seats to the senators and representatives of the seceded States. Only Tennessee was admitted in March, 1866. The following June Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment by which the colored freedmen were made citizens both of their respective States and of the United States. The ratification of this amendment by the Southern States was made a condition of their readmittance to Congress. Meanwhile the ten unreconstructed States were placed under military government. North and South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas submitted and were readmitted to the Union, 1868. By their accession the Fourteenth Amendment became part of the Constitution.

All the measures connected with Congressional Reconstruction were passed over the veto of President Johnson, who was credited with the intention of impeding the work by the removal of officials favoring it. Accordingly Congress in 1867 passed the Tenure of Office Act which reduced the President's power of removal to a power of suspension dependent in its operation on the Senate's approval. Johnson's disregard of this law led to his impeachment for "high crimes and misdemeanors." He was, however, acquitted in the Senate by a majority of one vote.

571. End of Reconstruction. — Many of the Southern whites were still unpardoned, and therefore deprived of the right of voting. Others, and among them the most influential men, had either left, or took no part in a reconstruction under military rule. The colored freedmen had been given the ballot before they were educated in the duties of citizenship. They were ignorant, timid, and easily influenced. This state of affairs induced a swarm of "carpet-baggers," political adventurers without conscience and patriotism from the North, to invade the Southern States. They filled the minds of the negroes with suspicions against their former masters and alarm at the possible revival of slavery, obtained the control of the negro vote, and got themselves elected governors, State legislators, and congressmen. These powers they abused in passing bad laws and high taxes, and in plundering the States for their personal benefit. The Southern property owners, on the other hand, tried all manners

of bribery and intimidation to prevent the negroes from voting. They finally organized a secret society, the Ku-klux-klan, whose members rode out at night, and whipped, maimed, and even murdered negroes, carpet-baggers, and "scalawags," as Southern whites were called who voted with the negroes. Hence the Fifteenth Amendment which forbade the United States or any State, to prevent any person from voting because of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude, 1870. The same year the last of the Southern States, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia, were readmitted into the Union.

Whilst Reconstruction succeeded in making free men of the negroes, it failed in making them voters. Gradually the original white population wrested political power from the hands of Northern adventurers. Since 1877 all the Southern States had control of their State governments. Nor has Reconstruction succeeded in wiping out the social ostracism maintained by the whites against the colored population of the South.

Wilson: *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power.* — Blaine: *Twenty Years in Congress.* — Barnes: *Hist. of the 39th Congress.* — Bryce: *American Commonwealth.*

General Works for Consultation on the Period — *Narrative and Critical Hist. of America* (by different authors). — Andrew: *Manual of the Constitution.* — Wheeler: *Hist. of Congress.* — Van Santvoord: *Chief Justices of the U. St.* — A. Johnston: *Hist. of Am. Politics.* — M'Kee: *National Platforms of all Parties* — Stanwood: *Hist. of Presidential Elections.* — W. G. Dice: *American State and Am. Statesmen.* — Johnston: *American Orations.* — *American Commonwealth* Series (*Hist. of the Single States*, by diff. authors). — G. du Bois: *Suppression of the Slave Trade in the U. St., 1638-1870.* — Soley: *The Wars of the U. St., 1789-1850; Treaties and Conventions between the United States and Other Countries* (ed. 1889).

§ 11.

MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES.

572. Mexico Invaded. — Whilst the United States were in the throes of a civil war, great changes took place in the neighboring Republic of Mexico. In the quick succession of revolutions and counter-revolutions — the chronic evil of Mexico since its defection from Spain — the liberal leader, Benito Juarez, in 1861, obtained possession of the capital. In addition to the usual measures of Masonic governments, suppression of the monasteries, spoliation of the Church, expulsion of prominent bishops, he also repudiated the treaty obligations with foreign Powers contracted by his predecessors. This brought him in conflict with England, France, and Spain.

The three Powers concluded the Treaty of London, 1861, which contemplated the seizure of Mexican custom houses to make good foreign claims, but no interference in the internal affairs of Mexico. Accordingly, the allied Powers sent an armed expedition to Mexico which occupied Vera Cruz and the fort of Juan de Ulloa, December, 1861, and January, 1862. Shortly after reinforcements arrived from France, accompanied by the exiled Mexican General Almonte, who had concerted plans with Napoleon III. for changing Mexico into an Empire, and securing the throne to Archduke Maximilian of Austria. Juarez demanded the re-embarkation of Almonte and his companions. On this demand the representatives of the allied Powers disagreed. The Count of Saligny, Napoleon's representative, proposed an immediate advance upon Mexico. The English and Spanish representatives adhered to the clause of non-interference, and withdrew from the undertaking. Saligny thereupon declared war against the government of Juarez.

573. **Napoleon III. and the United States.** — The aim of Napoleon was clearly expressed in his instructions of July 3, 1862, to General Forey: "It is our interest that the Republic of the United States may be powerful and prosperous, but by no means that she should take all the Gulf of Mexico, and hence command the West Indies as well as South America, and be the sole dispenser of the products of the New World." "If, on the contrary, a stable government be constituted in Mexico with the assistance of France, we shall have restored to the Latin race, on the other side of the ocean, its strength and its prestige; we shall have guaranteed security to our colonies of the West Indies and those of Spain; we shall have established our beneficent influence in the center of America." On the other hand, the United States appealed to the Monroe Doctrine, and from time to time protested against the French undertaking. The Monroe Doctrine was a Declaration issued by President Monroe in 1823 against a new Russian settlement in the North, and against the suspected interference of the Holy Alliance in the affairs of South America. It declared that, whilst the United States would not meddle in the political affairs of Europe, the American continents were no longer open to colonization by European powers, and that European governments must not extend their system to any part of North or South America. Napoleon, however, cared little for the Monroe Doctrine, being satisfied that the United States were going to pieces, and that the Southern Confederacy would be his friend and ally.

574. The Empire of Mexico. — The first attack of the French upon Puebla, 1862, failed, and postponed the campaign for a year.

The arrival of 25,000 reinforcement enabled General Forey to destroy the Republican forces, to take Puebla, and to enter the city of Mexico, 1863. A Junta was formed which established a regency composed of three excellent men, Archbishop La Bastida, and the Generals Almonte and Salas. An assembly of 250 notables voted for a hereditary Empire under a Catholic prince, and offered the crown to Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria, the Emperor's brother. Maximilian, then staying at the castle of Miramar, refused to accept the throne on that vote alone, and answered the envoys that he would only do so when the vote of the Notables would be confirmed by the nation. To bring about this result, Napoleon placed the reins of power in Mexico into the stronger hands of Bazaine. Within six weeks, Bazaine defeated by rapid and well concerted blows four Mexican generals, who had rallied the scattered Republican forces, and added the greater part of the country to the projected Empire. The people within the radius of the French occupation ratified the vote of the Notables with the same resignation with which they had voted through forty years of civil war for any of the victorious presidential candidates. These ratifications of the Mexican municipalities were placed before Maximilian and judged by European jurists to be the expression of the national will. Thereupon Maximilian accepted the proffered crown, and arrived with Empress Carlotte in Mexico, June, 1864.

575. **Maximilian's Policy.** — The Emperor and Empress in a tour through the country were everywhere received with sincere enthusiasm, especially by the Catholic population. They regarded him as the savior of the country from interminable revolutions. But the fond illusion was soon dispelled. As Marshal Bazaine had done before him, Maximilian, too, undertook to reconcile the Liberals at the expense of the Church. He retained the spoliation laws of Juarez, introduced the Placet, banished religion from the schools, and carrying out the Masonic programme, forced the Papal Nuncio to leave Mexico. Jealousies between Mexicans and foreigners at the court, in the army and in the administration added to the dissatisfaction. In setting aside the leaders of the party to whom he owed the throne, he estranged his strongest adherents without winning over any important adhesions from the Liberals. Under the erroneous impression that the government of Juarez had left the territory, he issued the famous law of October 3, 1865, which ordered the court-martialing of all bands of guerrilleros taken in arms. The law was executed in very few cases as Maximilian never refused a pardon; and it was subsequently repealed. But it

greatly increased the number of his Mexican enemies, and estranged General Bazaine, whose court-martials were regularly canceled.

576. Napoleon III. and the United States. — The surrender of Lee and the collapse of the Confederacy brought new dangers to the Empire. A number of Southern generals and large and small bands of armed Confederates with men and artillery passed over the frontiers, became naturalized under the Empire and established colonies. On the other hand many ex-soldiers of the Union army enlisted in the ranks of Juarez, whose position was daily growing stronger. Under these circumstances, the United States sent a peremptory note to Napoleon to withdraw the French troops from Mexico. In view of Austria's intention to replace the French by Austrian troops, Secretary Seward declared that the intervention of any European power in the affairs of Mexico would henceforth be considered by the government as a casus belli (April 28, 1865). To give emphasis to these demands, General Sheridan was sent to the Rio Grande with 60,000 veterans. Napoleon finally gave way to the pressure. May 31, 1866, he forced a new treaty on Maximilian by which the Mexican Empire lost one-half of its revenues, and the support of the French army promised for six years was to cease November 1, 1867. A journey of Empress Carlotte to the Tuileries brought no relief. Maximilian, who ere this had made preparations to leave Mexico, now changed his mind. He obtained evidence that Napoleon III. was in accord with the United States government, and with the Liberal leaders. He withdrew to Orizaba, threw himself into the arms of the Conservative party, and pledged himself to reinstate the persecuted clergy and to return to the Church its confiscated property. In a proclamation he announced his intention of returning to the capital and convoking a Congress to ascertain the feelings of the nation at large. On the very day when the proclamation was issued, General Sherman with three American commissioners arrived at Vera Cruz. Their mission was to restore in concert with the Tuileries the Mexican Republic and President Juarez. At the same time Napoleon, in violation of his latest treaty, ordered the immediate departure of the foreign troops.

577. The Fall of Maximilian, 1867. — The evacuation took place early in 1867. The retreat of the French army was closely

followed by the advance of the Liberals, who in a short time reduced the Empire to the Peninsula of Yucatan and the cities of Vera Cruz, Puebla, Queretaro, and Mexico. The Mexican army and the few Austrian and Belgian regiments still at Maximilian's disposal were outnumbered by the enemy and thinned by desertion. Whilst Porfirio Diaz, later Juarez' successor in the presidency, stormed Puebla and proceeded to the siege of Mexico, Maximilian made his last stand in Queretaro. The siege lasted sixty-eight days. On May 15, Colonel Lopez, in whom Maximilian implicitly confided, and on whom he had bestowed unlimited favors, secretly introduced the enemy into the forts, and sold the Emperor, his generals and his army into captivity for 2,000 doubloons. With Juarez Maximilian's execution was a foregone conclusion, which no appeals of foreign diplomacy could change.

The trial was a mockery of justice. It was held under the sanguinary and unconstitutional "law" of January 25, 1862, a mere manifesto of Juarez against the interventionists. The charges of usurpation, filibustering, complicity with the French, and the laws of October 3, 1865, were absurd in the case of a ruler who had come into the country unarmed and invited by the nation. Three days were granted to prepare the defense, and twenty-four hours for the trial. The court-martial, composed of young subaltern officers, was held on the stage of a theater where Maximilian refused to appear. During the few days intervening between the sentence and the execution, Maximilian twice received the sacraments. He was executed July 19, 1867, the anniversary of the day on which Iturbide, the first Emperor of Mexico, had been executed in 1824. Vice Admiral Tegethoff, the victor of Lissa, conveyed the remains of Maximilian to Austria. Before the catastrophe Empress Carlotte had been stricken with insanity. From the moment Maximilian had resolved to stand for better or worse by those who had remained faithful to his fallen fortunes, his words and acts were noble, his death worthy of his ancestors.

Bancroft: *Hist. of Mexico.* — Hale: *Story of Mexico.* — *Histories of Napoleon III.* — Taylor: *Maximilian and Carlotta.* — Gaulot: *Rêve d' Empire: La verité sur l'Expédition du Mexique.* — Chynoweth: *Fall of Maximilian.* — Kératry: *Rise and Fall of Max.* — Salm-Salm: *My Diary in Mexico.* — Schroeder: *Fall of Maximilian's Empire.* — Lummis: *Awakening of a Nation: Mexico of To-day.* (*1898.*)

WARS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

I. SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN, 1812-14.

Causes.—1. Violations of the *law of neutrality* of England.
2. The right of *search and impressment* claimed and exercised by England.
3. The suspension by America of all trade with England.
4. The agitation set on foot by a new school of Democrats (*Clay and Calhoun*).

Campaigns.—1. *Detroit* and *Michigan* taken first by the English then by the U. St., 1812-13.	Naval battle of *Put-in-Bay* Island, 1813.	*Oliver H. Perry* over the British fleet.	**THE PEACE OF GHENT**, Dec., 1814, provided for boundary Commissions. Claim of search and impressment tacitly dropped by Great Britain.
2. Desultory warfare in *Canada* and on the borders, 1812-14.			
3. Campaign of *Gen. Ross* against *Washington* and *Baltimore.*	Capture and destruction of *Washington.*		
4. American victories *at sea*, 1812-13; *Blockade* of American coast, 1814.			
5. *Campaign at New Orleans.*	**BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS**, 1815.	**JACKSON** over *Pakenham.*	

II. THE WAR WITH MEXICO, 1846-48.

Causes.—1. The high-handed annexation of *Texas* by the *United States*, 1845.
2. The dispute about the boundary (*Rio Grande or Nueces?*)

1. Invasion of *Mexico* from the *North*, 1846-47.	*Palo Alto, Reseca, Monterey, Buena Vista.*	*G. Zachary Taylor.*	**PEACE OF GUADALOUPE HIDALGO.**
2. Invasion from the *South.* March from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, 1847.	*Cerro Gordo, Churubusco, Chapultepec,* **MEXICO**, Sept. 14.	*Gen. Winfield Scott.*	1. All claims to Texas renounced by Mexico; *Rio Grande* the boundary.
3. Conquest of *New Mexico.*	Santa Fé taken.		2. Cession of 552,568 sq. m. of territory (*Calif., New Mex., Nev., Arizona, Utah,* and parts of *Col.* and *Wyoming*).
4. Conquest of *California.*		Col. *St. W. Kearny. Stanton* and *Frémont.*	3. Payment of $15,000,000 by the U. St. By the *Gadsden Purchase* (1853) another tract of 45,535 sq m. to regulate the boundary from the *Rio Grande* to the *Gulf of Mexico* was acquired for $10,000,000.

WARS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY — *Continued.*

III. THE CIVIL WAR FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE UNION, 1861–1865.

Causes.—1. Slavery as it legally existed in the South; its antagonism to the Declaration of Independence.
2. The unsatisfactory compromise effected in the Constitution.
3. The economic superiority of the free labor States over those employing slave labor.
4. The doctrine of *State Sovereignty* as asserted in the *Virginia* and *Kentucky Resolutions* containing the germs of nullification and secession, 1798–99.
5. The *Missouri Compromise* (36°30′) dividing the North and the South into rival geographical parties, 1820.
6. The tariff fight between the North and the South (*Calhoun*) leading to the *Nullification Ordinance of South Carolina.* Civil war averted through *Clay's* mediation.
7. The *annexation of Texas*, 1845, and the vast increase of territory which the U. St. obtained through the war with Mexico and which the Slave Power claimed for the extension of its peculiar institution.
8. Increasing agitation of *Abolition Societies* and the formation of the *Free Soil Party* in support of the *Wilmot Proviso* (Mexican acquisitions to be free soil).
9. The compromise of 1850 to prevent the breaking up of the Union: slave-trade abolished in the D. C., but slavery retained; California a free State; no restriction on slavery in *Utah* and *New Mexico territories;* severe fugitive slave law; its execution in the North roused the indignation of the people.
10. The **KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL.** Repeal of the *Missouri Compromise;* the country north of 36°30′ opened to slavery, 1855.
11. The formation of the *Republican Party.*
12. Slavery and anti-slavery in *Kansas*, 1854–58.
13. The *Dred Scott Decision*, 1857.
14. The election of **ABRAHAM LINCOLN**, 1860.
15. *Secession of South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas,* before — of *North Carolina, Virginia,* and *Tennessee* after the **BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER.**

Campaigns.	*Battles.*	*Victory of:*	*Results.*
1. PRELIMINARY CAMPAIGN.			
1. In North Virginia.	*Bull Run* (rout July 21), 1861.	*Beauregard* over *McDowell.*	Necessity of discipline and organization made apparent.
2. In Missouri, 1861.	*Wilson's Creek* (Aug. 10).	*Price* and *McCulloch* over *Lyon.*	
2. THE OPENING OF THE MISSISSIPPI.	Capture of *Fort Henry* (Feb. 6), 1862, by	*Grant* and *Commodore Foote.*	Confederate line broken. Conf. driven out of *Kentucky* and *West Tennessee;*
1. From *above. Halleck; Albert Sidney Johnston,* in command.	Capture of *Fort Donelson* (Feb. 16)	*Grant* over *Johnston.*	
	Pittsburg Landing or *Shiloh* (Apr. 6–7),	*Grant* and *Buell* over *Johnston* (fell).	

	Pea Ridge (March 6-8).	*Curtis* over *Van Dorn* and *Price*.	out of *Missouri* and *North Arkansas*.
	Fall of *Corinth* and *Memphis* (May 26–June 6).	*Halleck* over *Beauregard*.	*Mississippi* free from above as far as *Vicksburg*.
From *below*.	Fall of *New Orleans*:		From below Mississippi passable to blockade runners.
	Running the forts (Apr. 25).	*Farragut* (*Dewey* a captain).	
	Occupation of the city (Apr. 28)	by *Gen. Butler*.	
	Grant advances by land.	foiled by *Pemberton*.	
	Sherman advances by river.	foiled by *Pemberton*.	
3. **GRANT'S MISSISSIPPI CAMPAIGN**, 1862.	Battles around *Vicksburg* (May 1–19).	*Pemberton* driven into *Vicksburg*.	
Grant's campaign against **VICKSBURG**, 1863.	**SIEGE AND FALL OF VICKSBURG** (May 19–July 4).	*Grant*, *Sherman*, *McClernand* over *Johnston* and *Pemberton*.	**MISSISSIPPI** free from source to mouth; the Confederacy cut in two; recovery of the greater part of *Arkansas*.
	Fall of Port Hudson (July 9).		
3. **THE CAMPAIGN ABOUT CORINTH AND CHATTANOOGA**, 1862–63.	*Yuka* (Sept. 19), 1862.	*Rosecrans* over *Price*.	
	Corinth (Oct. 3–4).	*Rosecrans* over *Van Dorn* and *Price*.	
Bragg's raid into *Kentucky*.	*Perryville, Ky.*	*Buell* over *Bragg*.	
Bragg's second Northern movement.	**MURFREESBORO** (Dec. 31–Jan. 2), 1863.	*Rosecrans* over *Bragg*.	Kentucky safe.
Bragg moves out of *Chattanooga*.	*Chickamauga* (Sept. 19–20).	Gen. Rosecrans.	
		Bragg and *Longstreet* over *Rosecrans'* right wing.	
		Gen. Thomas, "The Rock of Chickamauga."	
The Union forces besieged in *Chattanooga*.	**LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN AND MISSIONARY RIDGE** (Nov. 24–25).	*Sherman*, *Thomas*, and *Sheridan* over *Bragg*.	The Confederates retire to *Dalton*, *Georgia*. *East Tennessee* recovered.
4. **EARLIER CAMPAIGNS AGAINST RICHMOND, 1862–63.**			
1. Plan of Campaign: (1) Occupation of the *Shenandoah Valley*. (2) *McDowell* to move from Washington towards Richmond and to join *McClellan*. (3) *Mc*-	Four victories of	*Stonewall Jackson* over *Frémont* and *Banks*.	These victories led to the recall of *McDowell* for the defense of the capital.
	McClellan forced to besiege *Yorktown* and *Williamsburg*	by *Gen. Johnston*.	

WARS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY — *Continued.*

Clellan to move up the *Peninsula*. *McClellan* deprived of *McDowell's* assistance.	*Fair Oaks*, May 31–June 1, 1862.	*McClellan* over *Johnston*.	
	SEVEN DAYS' BATTLES BEFORE RICHMOND, June 26 July 6.	**R. LEE** over *McClellan*.	*McClellan* forced to retreat to the *Potomac*.
2. *Pope* in command of the army reorganized (army of Virginia).	*Cedar Mountain* (Aug. 9).	*Lee* over *Banks*.	
	Bull Run (Aug. 28-30).	*Jackson* and *Lee* over *Pope*.	
3. *Lee's* first invasion of *Maryland*.	*Antietam* (Sept. 16–17).	*McClellan* and *Pope* over *Lee*.	Lee returns to *Richmond*.
4. *Burnside* in command.	*Fredericksburg* (Dec. 13).	*Lee* over *Burnside*.	Pres. Lincoln's preliminary *Emancipation Proclamation*.
5. *Hooker* in command.	*Chancellorsville* (May 3-5), 1863.	*Lee* and *Jackson* over *Hooker* (Jackson's fall).	
6. *Lee's* second invasion of *Maryland* and *Pennsylvania*. *Meade* in command.	**GETTYSBURG** (July 1-3).	**MEADE** over **LEE**.	Lee returns to *Richmond*. *Gettysburg* and *Vicksburg* the turning point in the war.
5. **SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA.**			
1. **GRANT LIEUTENANT-GENERAL**, and in command of the Army of the Potomac. *Sherman*, commanding the armies of the *Cumberland*, the *Ohio*, and the *Tennessee*.	Sherman's Advance: *Resaca*, 1864. *Marietta*. *Kenesaw Mountain*, May 4–July 17.	**JOHNSTON'S** masterly retreat from *Dalton* to *Atlanta* (Johnston removed).	
	Three battles around **ATLANTA**, July 17–Sept. 2.	*Sherman* over *Hood*.	
2. *Hood* marches to *Tennessee*.	*Nashville* (Dec. 15–16).	*Hood's army destroyed by Pope*.	
3. Sherman's march through *Georgia*.	**FALL OF SAVANNAH**, Dec. 20.		
4. Sherman's march through *The Carolinas*., Jan.-April, 1865.			
To *Goldsborough* (Jan.-Apr.)	**SURRENDER OF JOHNSTON**	**TO SHERMAN**, Apr. 26.	
5. **GRANT'S FINAL CAMPAIGN AROUND RICHMOND AND PETERSBURG.**	*Battles in the Wilderness; Spottsylvania; North Anna; Cold Harbor* (May 5-June 12); Operations, etc.	**LEE** and *Grant*. *Lee* over *Grant*. *Lee* over *Grant*. *Lee* over *Grant*.	

2. *Sheridan* and *Early* in the Shenandoah Valley.	*Early's* dash at the gates of *Washington* (July 11). *Winchester* (Sept. 19). *Cedar Creek* (Sheridan's Ride) Oct. 19.	 *Sheridan* over *Early.* *Sheridan* over *Early.*	
3. Final Campaign.	**EVACUATION OF RICHMOND BY LEE,** April 3.	**LEE SURRENDERS TO GRANT AT APPOMATTOX,** April 9.	The surrender of Lee to Grant, and of Johnston to Sherman put an end to the Civil War.

IV. THE MEXICAN EXPEDITION. THE EMPIRE AND ITS OVERTHROW.

Causes.— 1. The incessant revolutions and the chronic misrule of Mexico by radicals and Freemasons, led to the attempt of the Conservatives to found a stable and orderly government.
2. Treaty rights of *France, England,* and *Spain* violated by the Mexican government.
3. *Napoleon's* plan to procure to the Latin race a preponderance over the Anglo-German race in the New World by creating a *Mexican Empire.*
4. The proclamation of *Archduke Maximilian* as *Emperor of Mexico,* 1863.
5. Maximilian's acceptance of the crown upon the persuasion of Napoleon III. and the strength of the Mexican popular vote.
6. Maximilian's wavering policy in the midst of incurable party feuds. His religious and educational liberalism alienated many of his former supporters.
7. The invocation of the *Monroe Doctrine.*
8. The demand of the U. St. at the end of the Civil War, that the French troops should be withdrawn from Mexico.

1. Occupation of *Vera Cruz,* etc., by the Allies, 1861-62.			*Treaty of London* between France, England, and Spain, 1861.
2. Arrival in Mexico of 25,000 French troops followed by further reinforcements.	Capture of *Puebla* and *Mexico,* 1863.	*Forey* over *Ortega.*	*Treaty of La Soledad* with the Allies, made and broken by Juarez, Pres. of Mexico. *England* and *Spain,* however, suspecting Napoleon's designs, withdrew from the Alliance.
3. Guerrilla warfare, 1863-67.			**MAXIMILIAN EMPEROR OF MEXICO., 1864-67.**
4. Withdrawal of the French troops, 1867.	*Fall of Puebla* and *Mexico,* 1867. The action of *Queretaro.*	Captivity (traitor Lopez) and execution of *Maximilian* June 19, 1867.	Two revolutions headed by Gen. *Porfirio Diaz* (1872; 1875-77)), after which he was chosen President for four terms.

CHAPTER IV.

OUR OWN TIMES.

§ 1.

THE GREAT POWERS.

578. Great Britain.—In the second half of the century England continued the work of political reform begun in the first. Various acts of Parliament abolished abuses in the civil service, in army appointments, in popular elections, introduced the ballot and gave greater protection to sailors, employees, workingmen and debtors. Popular representation in Parliament was vastly extended in favor of the working classes by Disraeli's Reform Act of 1867 (second R. A.) which added 1,000,000 to the number of voters, and in favor of the agricultural classes, by Gladstone's Reform Act of 1885 (third R. A.) which increased the voting population by 2,000,000.

579. **The Irish Question.** — In his first Prime Ministry (1868–74) Mr. Gladstone conferred two important benefits on Ireland. By the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church (1868), he freed the Catholics from the burden of Anglicanism and by the Irish Land Act (1870), he liberated the tenants from the worst features of landlord tyranny. Towards the end of his administration and during the ministry of Lord Beaconsfield two movements were set on foot in Ireland, the Home Rule agitation which sought self-government for Ireland by lawful means, and the Land League which, allied with secret societies, resorted to questionable and even violent measures to replace landlordism with its barbarous evictions by a system of peasant proprietorship. Mr. Parnell led in both movements. When Mr. Gladstone entered upon his second Premiership (1880–85), his strong coercive measures, the imprisonment of Parnell and other Irish leaders and the suppression of the Land League made matters worse. In 1882 England was startled by the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, Chief Secretary of Ireland, and Mr. Burke, permanent Under-secretary, in Phœnix Park, Dublin. By voting with the Conservatives the Irish members forced Gladstone's resignation. He was succeeded by Lord Salisbury, June, 1885. — February, 1886. When Gladstone again took office the same year (February–August), he completely reversed his policy of coercion, became reconciled

with the Irish Nationalists and introduced the Irish Home Rule Bill inclusive of an Irish Parliament. It was defeated by a split in the Liberal Party. Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Bright, and other English leaders, who assumed the name of Liberal Unionists, resented any attempt to interfere with the supremacy of the British Parliament. The result was a Parliament of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists and the second Premiership of Lord Salisbury (1886–92). The elections of 1892 once more placed Gladstone at the helm. The Irish Home Rule Bill passed the House of Commons, but was thrown out in the House of Lords by a vote of more than ten to one. Thereupon Gladstone at the age of eighty-four resigned, and the Liberal party, deprived of his splendid leadership and weakened by internal dissensions, had to retire from the field, 1895. Mr. Gladstone died May 19, 1898. An Irish Local Government Bill, drawn up by the Conservative Ministry in 1898, was approved by the House of Lords.

The England of to-day is the foremost Power of the world. Its sway extends over a territory of 12,000,000 square miles, almost a quarter of the surface of the globe; 390,000,000 inhabitants, more than a fourth of all mankind, are subject to the nominal rule of Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, and since 1877 Empress of India. Her reign of sixty-two years is the longest in the history of England. How long this mighty sea Power will continue to hold together the spoils of the nations is one of the problems of the future.

580. Germany. — Imperial Germany has steadily maintained a policy of peace under its three first Emperors. Till 1877 William I. was supported in his peace policy by Francis Joseph I. of Austria and Alexander II. of Russia (alliance of the Three Emperors). But the Turco-Russian war of 1877 which gave Bosnia and Herzogowina to Austria caused an estrangement between Austria and Russia. To secure herself on her Russian frontiers, Austria concluded an alliance with Prussia for peace and mutual defense in case either Power should be attacked by Russia (1879). This league became the Triple Alliance by the accession of the Kingdom of Italy, (1882). Germany relies for her protection against external foes on her military organization, which enables her at the approach of any danger to put 2,000,000 drilled, disciplined, and well-equipped men into the field, and by calling out all the reserves to raise this number to 5,000,000. During this long period of peace and armed security Germany has turned her attention to the development of her internal

resources. By her policy of protection and of industrial, commercial and colonial expansion, by her African possessions and the new trade in the East, she has become a rival of England. But behind all this industrial and military greatness looms up the specter of widespread, organized Socialism. There were but two Socialists in the Reichstag of 1872; there were fifty-four in 1898. The 340,000 socialistic votes of 1874 have swelled to 2,120,000 in 1898, outnumbering the adherents of any other political party. This growth of Socialism in the German Empire with the tendency of its adherents to co-operate with the socialists of other countries, is one of the problems now confronting Europe.

The Baltic Canal which joins the Bay of Kiel with the Elbe river was opened in 1891. The great work enables the German navy to pass from the Baltic to the North Sea through exclusively German territory.

581. Austria. — Externally at peace Austria is internally convulsed by the race and language question of her rival nationalities. The predominance of the German method of government and centralization was broken in Hungary by the establishment of the Dual Monarchy. The perplexing problem in Cisleithania is whether it is to be German or Slav; is it to be a centralized State in which the German law, language and government have the ascendency; or is it to break up into a number of semi-independent provinces ruled by the nationality predominating in each? Practically the Poles have obtained home rule in Galicia whilst the Czechs are incessantly agitating for home rule in Bohemia. The Poles and Czechs present a united front in Parliament, whilst the Germans are split up into numerous factions. Hence the extraordinary scenes of disorder and turbulence of late years, which disgraced the Parliaments at Vienna and Pesth.

The new Pan-German Party agitates for a union of German Austria with Prussia. Its most radical wing, however, whose war cry is: Away from Rome — is too small and irreligious to gain the sympathy of any considerable number of Austrians.

The general popularity of the kindly Emperor and the sympathy of all classes for his personal afflictions — the loss of the Crown Prince and the assassination of the Empress — has preserved the loyalty of the people, but

troubled days may await the successor of Francis Joseph I. A union of all the Catholic parties for placing the higher interests of religion and country above mere national questions seems to be the best, if not the only means for Austria's regeneration.

582. Russia.— Alexander II. inaugurated a new era in Russia by the memorable decree of 1861, which emancipated 24,700,000 serfs of the crown, and 22,500,000 serfs of the nobility. The former previously enjoyed a considerable measure of personal liberty, the latter fared little better than slaves. This decree which detached the serfs from the soil and raised them to the ranks of citizens, did not produce the desired contentment. It was bitterly resented by the nobility, it fell short of the desires of the new freemen, and its application in some places met with resistance and bloodshed. The universities and new colleges which another imperial decree threw open to the humbler classes became, in the course of time, hotbeds of political agitation, because hosts of graduates found themselves shut out from official or civil employment by the privileged classes. The opposition which the Czar encountered cooled his ardor for new reforms; he even withdrew some of those previously granted. This policy of reaction called forth "Nihilism," one of the most ferocious movements of the nineteenth century. The Nihilists, a secret society chiefly recruited from the unemployed, educated classes without faith or religion, men and women who had an absolute contempt for death, made political murder a tenet of their creed. They engaged in a war to the knife with the officialdom of Russia and the secret police which tracked and hunted them like wild beasts. Assassinations of prominent men followed in quick succession. In 1879 the Nihilist Executive Committee served upon the Czar his sentence of death. The dynamite explosion in the Winter Palace, 1880, which killed or mangled a hundred soldiers, was destined for the imperial family. In 1881 the assassins at length succeeded in striking down Alexander II. by a bomb on the very day (March 13) he had chosen for the publication of a Constitution.

Alexander III. (1881–94) withdrew the Constitution and returned to the traditional policy of absolutism. The terrorism exercised by the Nihilists delayed his coronation for nearly two years. Their

incessant attempts upon his life sapped his health. He died at the age of hardly fifty years, a victim of nervous anxiety and fear.

His reign was marked by a persecution, both official and popular, of the Jews, which drove 300,000 into foreign countries.

Nicholas II. made himself popular by discarding all armed protection and freely mingling with the people at his marriage feast with Princess Alix of Hesse (1894). Nihilism became silent for the time. The abolition of one-half of the land tax, a comprehensive amnesty to political offenders, a number of administrative reforms and above all the general Peace Congress, which he succeeded in gathering at the Hague, are to be considered as the Czar's personal acts, whilst the recent decrees for the Russification of Finland rather go to the account of the Old Russian clique, which is still powerful at the court of Petersburg. The influence of Russia both in Europe and in the East is greater than at any previous period, and is likely to increase in the future.

583. **France.** — The history of the Third Republic is one of external impotence and internal scandals. The Franco-Prussian War left France politically effaced. The only relief from complete isolation is the Franco-Russian alliance, presumed to have been arranged between Nicholas II. and President Faure. The internal scandals are faithfully reflected in the presidential changes and the rapid succession of the cabinets since 1873. President Grévy (1873–79), the successor of Marshal MacMahon, was forced by the Chamber to resign, because he tried to shield against the action of the courts, his son-in-law, Mr. Wilson, and his corrupt associates, who had enriched themselves by the sale of decorations and army appointments.

During the administration of Sadi Carnot (1879–94), who was a grandson of the Minister of War in the Reign of Terror, General Boulanger convulsed French politics by uniting the disaffected parties in a bold attempt to revise the Constitution and dissolve the Chamber. His flight to England, when summoned before the High Court of Justice, and his subsequent suicide in Belgium, put an end to the agitation. The Panama scandal caused still greater commotion. The Panama Canal Company, under the presidency of M. de Lesseps, failed in 1892 after spending 280,000,000 francs to little purpose. Tens of thousands of subscribers especially among the laboring classes were ruined. Ministers of State, high officials, Deputies of the Chamber, leading newspapers, were involved in the enormous peculations unearthed by the courts. The renown of de Lesseps as builder of the Suez Canal could not save him from being condemned on his death-bed to five years' imprisonment. In the elections of 1893, Socialism and Anarchy unfurled their flag. A reign of terror, an "epidemic of bombs," broke out in the spring of 1894, both in the capital and in the departments. A bomb was thrown at the President of the Chamber in open session. The sanguinary movement

culminated in the assassination of Sadi Carnot, who was stabbed by an Anarchist.

The next President, Casimir Perier (1894), had to step down after a few months on account of his connection with well-known corruptionists. Under him and his successor M. Faure (1894–99) the latest national scandal, the Dreyfus case, involving the judicial reputation of the military tribunals, came to the surface. In 1894 Captain Dreyfus, a Jewish staff officer, was sentenced by a secret court-martial to degradation and transportation for life on the charge of selling military secrets to foreigners.

The "affair" has rent France into a Jewish and anti-Jewish camp, into partisans of the army and partisans of the civil power, into Revisionists and anti-Revisionists. Under M. Loubet, who was chosen President after the sudden death of M. Faure, the Court of Cassation ordered at last a new trial of Captain Dreyfus, 1899.

584. Italy. — The state of Italy was never darker and the outlook upon the future more discouraging than at the present time. The Kingdom of Italy, hardly emerged from her wars of aggression and sacrilege, and ambitious to play the rôle of a great Power, was, like stronger States, seized with the fever of colonial expansion. She first reached out for Tunis, but was forestalled in the seizure by France, 1881. This snub drove Italy into the Triple Alliance. She next attempted to seize the western shore of the Red Sea with Massowah as the outlet of the entire Abyssinian trade, and forthwith Abyssinia was declared an Italian Protectorate. South Somali (1889), Eritrea (1890), the Somali coast (1893) and Tigre (1895) were conquered in costly wars. Gradually the invaders encountered the slow but desperate resistance of Menelek, the Negus (ruler) of Abyssinia. In 1895 General Baratieri suffered a terrible check at Amba Alaghi, and March 1, 1896, his forces were crushed by the Negus at Adowa. In the humiliating peace of Adis Adeba, 1896, Italy recognized the absolute independence of Abyssinia, and restored nearly all her conquests.

From the year 1892, when Crispi and Bismarck joined hands in the Triple Alliance, the new kingdom saw her deficit growing larger every year, her foreign trade and agriculture ruined, and bankruptcy and famine at her door. Italy's public debt of 3,000 millions in 1861 had risen in 1890, to 13,000 millions, and with the debts of communes and individuals to 22,000 million francs. In 1890 Italy spent 520,000,000 francs on her army alone, or 86,000,000 more than Parliament voted for the entire military budget of the British Empire.

The annual deficit amounted to 250–300 millions and more. Such expenses have to be covered by the taxes. Accordingly a respectable artisan family which would have to pay eighty-seven francs of taxes in England, has to pay 565 francs in Italy. The decrease in the foreign trade is best illustrated by the article of wine. In 1888 Italy still exported wine to the value of 1,030,471 francs, in 1890 only for 278,363 francs; 1879 registered 700 bankruptcies; 1889, 4,400. Public credit is shaken by bank scandals in which Masonic ministers and deputies are deeply involved. Agriculture as well as commerce has withered under the blighting pressure of the tax-gatherer. On a revenue of one-thousand millions agricultural Italy pays 300,000,000 in direct taxation, without taking into account taxes on salt, cattle, and indirect duties. The result is widespread misery and impoverishment. In 4,774 communes (towns and villages), only the well-to-do families can afford to eat meat. In 3 650 communes, beef is never used. In Sardinia, where an epidemic of brigandage has broken out, people eat a hard bread made of ground acorns, for want of wheat. Thousands upon thousands of beggared Italians leave their homes for foreign parts, especially North and South America. In 1898 bread and tax riots broke out from Milan to Naples and Palermo. In Milan alone several hundred persons were killed in the street fights and over 1,000 wounded. If the fact is added, that the new Kingdom is made up of provinces antagonistic in ideas, customs, history, local traditions and idioms it is not too much to say that the survival of the Kingdom of Italy is a problem yet to be solved.

585. Spain and the United States. — In Spain, Prince Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, who had accepted the crown of Spain after the retirement of Leopold of Hohenzollern, was unable to conciliate the warring factions, and to rule the country. Whilst the North was disturbed by Carlist hostilities and the South by Republican risings, Amadeo abdicated in 1873. Then followed the Republican dictatorship of Señor Castelar (1873), the military dictatorship of Marshal Serrano (1874), and the Proclamation of Marshal Campos which recalled the Bourbons to the throne in the person of Alphonso XII., the son of Queen Isabella (1875–85). The new and latest Constitution gave to Spain a Congress of 432 deputies chosen by manhood suffrage and a Senate of 360 members divided into three classes: (a) Senators in their own right (members of the royal family, archbishops, highest State officials). (b) Senators named by the Sovereign for life. (c) Senators chosen by electoral bodies. Whilst granting liberty of conscience and of private worship, the Constitution maintains Catholicism as the religion of the State. The Carlist risings were suppressed under the new King and with them the fueros or privileges of the Basque provinces. During Alphonso's reign grew up the two chief parties of the present time, the Conservatives led by Canovas del Castillo unt l his assassination by an Anarchist (1897), and the Liberals, led by Señor Sagasta.

586. Cuba. — Under the regency of the Queen-Mother Christina for Alphonso XIII , Spain's difficulties with the United States about Cuba came

to a head and led to the Spanish-American war of 1898. Cuba and Porto Rico were the only Spanish possessions left in America after the defection of the Spanish colonies. At the time of the emancipation of Texas Cuba became an object of vehement desire to the Southern slave power. President Polk offered $100,000,000 to Spain for the possession of Cuba. Spain promptly declined the offer. "What, however, could not be bought, it was determined to steal," and filibustering movements and expeditions became the order of the day.

In 1854 President Pierce ordered the United States ministers at the courts of London, Paris, and Madrid to meet in some European city and confer on the acquisition of Cuba. The result was the Ostend Manifesto, declaring that the United States would never enjoy repose and security "as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries." The Manifesto received the indorsement of President Pierce and his administration, and the approval of the National Democratic Convention of 1856 and 1860. The Civil War called the attention of the nation to weightier matters.

From 1868 an organized revolt, fostered by the professional agitators of the Spanish-American Republics, devastated Cuba for ten years. The smoldering embers broke out anew in 1895, at a period when riots, rebellions, and hideous anarchist outrages were distracting Spain, and the Philippine islands were in a state of revolt. Three successive governor-generals, Marshal Campos, General Weyler and General Blanco, were unable to suppress the insurrection in Cuba, secretly assisted by American money and Cuban filibustering expeditions equipped in American harbors. In 1896 the revenue officers captured seven filibusters and intercepted two expeditions. Others escaped their attention. Resolutions to recognize the Cubans as belligerents passed by both Houses, failed to obtain the assent of the executive. Upon diplomatic representations by the United States, Spain at length granted autonomy to Cuba and Porto Rico. The autonomous government under the new Constitution was installed January 1, 1898. Then came the blowing up of the Maine in the harbor of Havana, February 15, 1898. The event was pounced upon by sensationalists in the press and the tribune to inflame the minds of the people against Spain, though Spanish complicity has never been officially asserted or proved. The later offer of Spain to submit the question to an international tribunal of arbitration was declined by the administration. The mediation of Leo XIII. and the joint note of the six European Powers in the interests of peace were of no avail in the then existing state of public opinion.

587. The Spanish-American War, Peace of Paris, 1898.— The immediate cause of the war was the declaration of the two Houses of Congress, April 18, 1898, that the people of the island of Cuba are and of a right ought to be free and independent; especially the second and third clauses, demanding that the government of

Spain *at once* relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and empowering the President to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect. The fourth clause promises to leave the government and control of the island, after its pacification, to its people. The battle of Manila Bay and the destruction of the Spanish fleet by Commodore (now Admiral) Dewey, May 1; the capture of El Caney and the storming of San Juan hills, July 1; the destruction of Cervera's fleet by Commodore Schley, July 3; the surrender of Santiago and Eastern Cuba, July 14; the signing of the Peace Protocol, August 12, and the storming of Manila the day after the signing are matters of recent memory. In the Peace of Paris (ratified 1899), Art. I., Spain relinquishes all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba. Art. II. Spain cedes to the United States the island of Porto Rico (and other West India islands), and the island of Guam in the Marianas or Ladrones; Art. III. Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands. The United States will pay Spain the sum of $20,000,000.

The occupation of the Philippines led, in the beginning of February, 1899, to a new war between the United States troops and their former allies against Spain, the Philippino army of Aguinaldo, partly armed and equipped by the Americans themselves. The Philippinos are fighting for independence. They base their claims on former promises made by the United States agents and on the actual possession of the greater part of the Archipelago outside of Manila, before the conclusion of peace. The Americans fight for sovereignty acquired, they say, by the treaty with Spain and the payment of $20,000,000. Their strongest plea is the necessity of preserving the islands from a state of spoliation and anarchy on the part of the natives.

The problem which confronts the United States to-day is the existence of the Republic of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, its future adherence to the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution. In this view both the Imperialists and anti-Imperialists substantially agree. The Imperialists repudiate the limitations which the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and Washington's Farewell Address placed on American policy. Their contention is that the Union has outgrown the Declar-

ation of Independence and the Constitution. The anti-Imperialists maintain, to use the words of a scholar and a Churchman, that: "We stand at the parting of the ways. It is not yet too late to turn from the way which leads through war and conquest to imperialism, to standing armies, to alliances with foreign powers, and finally to the disruption of the Union itself." (Bishop Spalding at Chicago).

Duruy-Grosvenor: *A General History of the World*, pp. 678-90 (Great Britain); 600-607 (German Empire); 616-623 (Austria-Hungary); 623-635 (Russia); 587-599 (France); 612-615 (Italy), 669-677 and 707-716 (Spain and the U. S.) — Dr. R. Gneist: *The English Parliament in its Transformations.* — J. Murdoch: *History of Const. Reform in Great Britain and Ireland.* — G. B. Smith: *The Prime Ministers of Queen Victoria.* — A. M. Sullivan: *New Ireland.* — Chas. Law: *The German Emperor, William I.* — A. Leroy-Beaulieu: *The Empire of the Czars.* — E. Noble: *The Russian Revolt.* — Stepniak: *Underground Russia.* — A. de G.: *The Internal Condition of Russia;* A. C. Q. v. 4. — *Assassination of Alexander II.;* A. C. Q. v. 6. — G. Goldie: *The French Republic under Dynamite*, M. '83, 1. — Duncombe-Jewell: *The Present State of Politics in France;* M. 96, 3. — A. Gallenga: *Italy, Present and Future.* — J. A. C. Colclough: *The Financial Situation in Italy*, M. '91, 1. — Wentworth Webster: *Spain.* — Meyrick: *Church in Spain* (1892); *Congressional and Other U. St. Documents; Text of the Treaty of Peace.* — Hon. William Henry Fleming: *A Question of National Honor; Conservative Review*, May, 1899.

§ 2.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

588. Three Phases of the Eastern Question. — The Eastern Question has three distinct phases: the Eastern Question in Europe, Asia Minor, and Egypt; the Eastern Question in Central Asia where England and Russia confront each other, and the Eastern Question in the Pacific. The general causes underlying the Eastern Question are the political jealousies of the Great Powers and the feverish craving of all the exporting nations for colonial and commercial expansion.

589. **The Eastern Question at the Head of the Mediterranean.** — The peculiar creed, institutions, intellectual stagnation and moral corruption, which condemn Turkey to inevitable decay and bring her in constant friction with the Western Christian civilization; the many promises, as often broken as made, of the Porte to afford fair treatment to its Christian subjects; Russia's hereditary policy to extend its conquests to the Golden Horn and found a Panslavistic state; the policy of England, the traditional champion of Turkey, to baffle the designs of Russia; and the inability of the European

"Concert of Powers" to agree upon the distribution of the Turkish inheritance: these are the principal facts which underlie the Eastern Question in the countries surrounding the eastern Mediterranean.

590. **Causes of the War, 1877–1878.** — In the Congress of Paris (1856) the Powers had restrained Russia from constructing fortifications and maintaining a navy in the Black Sea. They had also exacted pledges of the Sultan to grant equal rights to his Christian and Turkish subjects, but had waived the question of interfering in Turkish internal affairs and seeing the promises fulfilled. In 1871 Alexander II. announced to Europe that he no longer held himself bound by the Treaty of Paris. The Porte, on the other hand, relying on the dissensions of the Powers, had continued to harass the Christians. In 1858 a massacre of Christians, including the consuls of France and England, at Djeddah in Arabia, was stopped only by the bombardment of the city. In 1860 the Druses of the mountains and the Bedouins of the deserts, assisted by thousands of Turkish regulars, fell upon the Christians of Syria. The streets of Damascus flowed with Christian blood. Hundreds of Christian villages were destroyed and many thousand Christians murdered. A French army of occupation had to restore the peace, and a Christian governor of the Libanon to maintain it. While general massacres ceased for a time, the domestic oppression of the Christians continued. In 1875 an insurrection broke out in Bosnia and Herzogowina. Bulgaria followed suit. Turkish fanaticism retaliated by murdering the consuls of Germany and France at Salonica. Then came the "Bulgarian Horrors" in which more than 20,000 Christians were massacred with grewsome barbarity. In self-protection Servia under Prince Milan and Montenegro under Prince Nikita took up arms. In the struggle that ensued Montenegro came forth victorious, but Servia was defeated. All the while European diplomacy was busy in deliberating and sending notes and memorandums to the Sultan. But Turkey, backed by England, remained defiant. It did, indeed, renew its promises, in a conference of all the Ambassadors of the Powers, to treat Christian and Turk alike, but would give no guarantee of fulfillment.

Finally Alexander II., unable to find an ally, and strongly urged on by popular sentiment, declared war against Turkey, 1877. In the course of these troubles Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz (1861–76), a spendthrift ruler who squandered colossal sums on buildings and pleasures, was dethroned and murdered by conspirators. His nephew and successor, Mourad, lost his reason after a short reign, and his brother, Abdul Hamid, the present Sultan, succeeded him (1876–X).

591. The Russo-Turkish War, 1877–78. — The war was carried on in the Turkish dominion of both Asia and Europe. After a failure to hold Kars which had been taken in a first invasion of

Turkish Asia, the Russians routed the Moslem forces under Mukhtar in the second invasion, stormed Kars, advanced to Erzerum and opened the road to Constantinople through Asia Minor.

In Europe the campaign began with the Russian occupation of the Dobrudsha, i. e., the peninsulas formed by the Danube at its mouths. In June Alexander II. crossed the Danube at Shistova. In July, Nicopolis fell, surrendering 7,000 prisoners. General Gourko seized the important Shipka Pass in the Balkans. All the Turkish efforts to regain the pass were fruitless. Plevna, the next point of attack, was defended with unexpected bravery. The siege, conducted by General Todleben, the defender of Sebastopol, lasted four months. December 10th Osman Pasha surrendered with 44,000 men. In a brilliant winter campaign the Russians forced the Balkans in three places, defeated the Turks wherever they met them, took Sofia and effected a junction at Adrianople, whence they advanced to the sea of Marmora, January 31, 1878. Whilst Great Britain was chafing at the Russian successes and preparing for war, Grand Duke Nicholas advanced to San Stefano within seven miles of Constantinople, and forced Turkey to sign the Peace of San Stefano. With consternation Austria beheld her own Slavonic frontiers bounded by other Slav States under Russian influence, and England foreboded in the treaty the virtual extinction of Turkey. To avoid greater complications, Russia consented to submit the treaty to a Congress in Berlin.

592. The Congress of Berlin, 1878. — The Congress opened June 13th. The three most prominent statesmen of this diplomatic assembly were Prince Bismarck, the presiding officer, Prince Gortchacow, Counsellor of Russia, and Lord Beaconsfield, Prime Minister of England. The modification of the Treaty of San Stefano as affected by the Congress was a diplomatic defeat of Russia.

(1.) Montenegro retained, whilst Servia and Roumania obtained their independence from Turkey, but their new acquisitions, as by Treaty of San Stefano, were considerably diminished (Roumania, formerly Moldavia and Wallachia).

(2.) The great State of Bulgaria as mapped out at San Stefano was reduced in size and divided into two States: (a) the autono-

mous Principality of Bulgaria between the Danube and the Balkans including Sophia, tributary to the Sultan, but ruled by her own Prince (Alexander of Battenberg, 1879; Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, 1886). (b) The province of "Eastern Roumelia" depending directly on the Sultan, but administered by a Christian Governor-General.

(3) The military and civil administration of Bosnia and Herzogowina was assigned to Austria, which thereby gained direct influence over Montenegro and Servia.

(4) Russia retained Kars, Batoum and Ardaghan.

(5) Turkey was advised but not bound by treaty obligation to cede a part of Thessaly and Epirus to Greece, which she never did.

In consequence of a secret alliance between England and Turkey, concluded a few days before the opening of the Congress, the Sultan handed over the island of Cyprus to England. To quiet the susceptibility of the French nation aroused by this transfer, England allowed France a free hand in Tunis.

593. The Rising in Crete and the Greco-Turkish War, 1897. — The Congress of Berlin did not solve the Eastern question. The years 1894–96 saw the Armenian massacres which, in their horrors and the appalling number of victims, far exceeded the atrocities committed in the Arabian, Syrian, and Bulgarian massacres. No Power stirred to hinder this war of extermination of a Christian people. In the island of Crete Turkish misrule had produced seven insurrections since 1868, which were so far successful that in 1897 the Christian Cretans held the greater part of the island and made bold to proclaim their voluntary annexation to Greece. Prince George, the younger son of George I., second king of Greece (1863–X), came with a torpedo flotilla, and Colonel Vassos with 1,500 men to aid the islanders. But the Concert of Christian Powers, Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and even Russia, hastened with their ironclads to bombard their Christian brethren, both Greek and Cretan, into subjection to Turkey, whilst the Ottoman Porte declared war against Greece. The overwhelming number of Turkish regulars under Edhem Pasha easily defeated Prince Constantine's small and poorly equipped army.

In their fear of a general conflagration the Powers held down the Balkan States, which sympathized with Greece, and lent their moral support to the Turk. Greece had to cede a portion of her northern territory and to pay $20,000,000 to Turkey. To guarantee

payment the Powers assumed the international control of the Greek finances. Induced by fresh Turkish insolences in Crete, the Powers finally compelled the Sultan to withdraw the Turkish troops from the island and to recognize Prince George as Governor-General of Crete. He landed and assumed office in 1899.

594. Egypt. — Egypt had become practically independent of the Sultan under Mehemet Ali (see pp. 280–81). But the financial extravagance of his successors, the Khedives, and the opening of the Suez Canal, had brought the country first under the joint financial control of France and England, and subsequently under the exclusive political control of England. Smarting under this foreign domination, Colonel Arabi Pasha raised the cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians" and gathered a strong following around him. An English fleet bombarded Alexandria whilst the infuriated Mohammedans massacred 2,000 Europeans in the city (July 12–14, 1882). The capture of Alexandria and the defeat of Arabi Pasha ended in the permanent British occupation of Egypt.

Two years before this occupation another enemy had risen against Egypt in the South. Mohammed Achmet had raised the standard of the Prophet in the Soudan and proclaimed himself the Mahdi or Savior who was to reunite Islam. He defeated army after army of Egyptian or Anglo-Egyptian troops, took Khartoum and slew the adventurous Major-General Gordon who had been sent to extricate the Egyptian garrisons in the Soudan. No further attempt against the Soudan was made till 1898, when Great Britain sent a new expedition up the Nile under Gen. Kitchener. He succeeded, 1899, in inflicting the crushing defeat of Omdurman on the latest Mahdi and in securing to all appearance the conquest of the Soudan. As a French expedition under Captain Marchand had reached Fashoda about the same time, the two Powers concluded a treaty which regulated the boundaries of England and France in the region of the Nile sources.

595. The Eastern Question in Central Asia. — The Eastern Question in Central Asia grows out of the steady and irresistible approach both of Russia from Siberia, and Great Britain from East India, so that these two mightiest Powers must soon face each other in Central Asia. The Russian advance began under Catharine II. Russian arms gradually penetrated into and beyond the Caucasus, annexed the kingdom of Georgia, subdued the Circassians, and formed, south of the Caucasus, a military government of eight provinces of which Tiflis is the center. And as both the Black and Caspian Seas belong to Russia, her forces can easily take the road

either to Constantinople or to Teheran, the capital of Persia. And Persia is the way to India. Whilst Russia was thus pushing onward, Great Britain, through her East India Company, was completing the subjection of the 200,000,000 inhabitants of India. From Deccan and the Valley of the Ganges they conquered the sea coast of Burmah, made Assam tributary, seized Singapore and Malacca and converted the Bay of Bengal into an English Sea (1793–1826).

Two great Afghan cities, Herat and Cabul, command the communication between Persia and India. To gain a pass to the valley of the Ganges, Czar Nicholas I., engaged the forces of the Shah of Persia, his ally, to besiege Herat. But before the arrival of the Persian army, the English had gained entrance into the city and forced the Persians to abandon the enterprise (1838). The following year a Russian army perished in an expedition against Khiva, another mountain highway to India. But Great Britain likewise failed in gaining a foothold in Afghanistan. Her troops had hardly taken possession of Candahar when a general insurrection of the natives annihilated her army of 15,000 English soldiers (1839–40). After inflicting a severe punishment on the Afghans, the English voluntarily withdrew from the dangerous country to pursue their conquests in other directions. They ascended the Indus, annexed the Punjaub or country of the Five Rivers, inhabited by the warlike Sikhs, took Cashmere and Lahore, and by 1848 had full control of the whole course of the Indus.

When the Shah of Persia made a new attempt to seize Herat, England, by the war of 1857–60, forced him to evacuate the Afghan stronghold. In consequence of a great Indian mutiny which broke out at the same time (1857–1858), and in which the revolting Sepoys and the English victors displayed equal ferocity, the government of East India was transferred from the Company to the Crown (1858).

As Russia later conquered Bokhara, Khokan and Khiva (1873–75) Afghanistan alone with its precarious independence separates the English and the Russian possessions in Central Asia.

596. The Eastern Question in the Far East and the Pacific. — Whilst the causes of the Eastern question in Europe

and Central Asia date back to previous centuries, the question of the Far East is peculiar to contemporary history. It is based on the colonial or expansion policy of the Great Powers, by which countries not yet "occupied" by Europeans or Americans are divided among them either by international agreement or by force of arms, in most cases without the knowledge or consent of the peoples annexed. During the last fifty years Great Britain has taken possession of 3,600,000 square miles, France 3,200,000 and Russia and Germany over 1,200,000 square miles each of territory outside of Europe. The greatest bone of contention is China with its 400,000,000 inhabitants.

597. **China.** — China, originally governed by a succession of obscure dynasties, was conquered in the thirteenth Century by the Mongols under Jenghis Khan. His grandson Kublai Khan founded the Yen Dynasty and adopted Chinese customs, but introduced Indian Buddhism into China, 1279. A national revolution overthrew the foreign rule and enthroned the Chinese Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644. The Ming dynasty in its turn was ousted by the Mantchu Tartars who gave to the Celestial Empire the present Tsin Dynasty.

Christianity was introduced into China, if not by the Apostle St. Thomas, unquestionably by Nestorian missionaries six centuries later. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries monks and friars made their way to Cathay (China) on the track of Marco Polo who lived seventeen years at the court of Kublai Khan In the sixteenth century the Jesuits acquired great influence by their scientific and astronomical services. Several members of the Ming Dynasty were baptized (Empress Helena, etc.). The Emperor Kanghi by an edict issued in 1692 permitted the introduction of Christianity in the whole Empire and greatly favored the work of the missionaries of all orders, who founded Christian communities in all parts of the land. On the other hand frequent persecutions produced a rich harvest of Christian martyrs.

598. China in the Nineteenth Century. — The Opium War of 1840–42 may be considered as the first serious attack upon the integrity of China. It was waged by England on behalf of the Bengalese opium planters who smuggled their deleterious drug into China at a yearly profit of several million dollars. The Chinese authorities acting upon their undoubted right ordered $10,000,000 worth of opium to be thrown into the sea. England declared war and easily defeated the Chinese forces. The Treaty of Nanking ceded Hong-

Kong to England and opened five Chinese ports to British commerce and to the smuggling of opium, though both treaty Powers had declared the trade illicit.

A second war of England in alliance with France, 1857–1860, provoked by the overbearing policy of Lord Palmerston, resulted in the capture of Canton, the Chinese defeat at Palikao, and the storming of Pekin. The Treaty signed in the Chinese capital granted access to the interior under certain restrictions to French and English subjects, toleration of Christianity, and resident embassadors at Pekin. England also acquired the Peninsula of Kan-Lung opposite Hong-Kong.

599. Contemporary Developments. — The advance in Turkestan, Siberia, and Manchuria (1860), and the completion of the Transiberian Railroad have brought the West, the North, and the Northwest of China within the easy grasp of Russia, and its newly projected railway to Pekin will lead it into the heart of the Celestial Empire. In the South 383,000 square miles of territory have become French by the annexation of Cochin-China (1861), Cambodia (1862), Tonking (1884), and part of Siam (1893–96). Japan, which since 1853 has gradually adopted the material progress, the grasping policy, and the commercial liberalism of modern Europe and America, forced upon China the war of 1894. Victorious by land and sea, it annexed the large island of Formosa and refrained from the annexation of northeastern China only on the protest of Russia, Germany, and France. In 1897 the Russians obtained Port Arthur and Talien Wan, the British Wei-Hai-Wei and the Germans, Kiao-chau, whilst in 1899 even bankrupt Italy stretched forth its hands for the Bay of San-Mun and surrounding territory.

China herself is helpless. Inhabited by millions who look upon all Europeans as devils and blindly ready to furnish them numerous pretexts or causes for interference; internally undermined by dynastic factions and secret societies, constantly scoured by large bands of rebels and bandits; many provinces administered by incapable or corrupt mandarins; the imperial court divided against itself and incessantly worried by the clashing demands of Russia, Great Britain, and France, — the Celestial Empire is likely to fall a prey to the Western Powers as soon as they can agree among themselves about the division of the spoils.

600. Oceania. — The fate which is threatening China has already overtaken the tens of thousands of islands scattered in the Pacific and South Seas. With the exception of the Tonga Islands, still independent but coveted by both England and Germany, and the Samoan group under the tripartite protectorate of Germany, England, and United States, all the rest worth having are held by England, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Spain lately ceded her colonial possessions in the Pacific to other Powers, the Philippines to the United States in the Peace of Paris (1898), and the Carolines, the Marianas or Ladrones (save Guam), and the Palaos or Peleus to Germany by diplomatic agreement (1899).

601. Africa. — In 1848 less than 400,000 square miles of the African coast were occupied by straggling European colonies. The interior of Africa was almost unknown before the explorations of Livingstone and Stanley. To-day only four minor independent States are left: Morocco, Abyssinia, the Orange Free State of the Boers or descendants of the original Dutch settlers of South Africa, and the impecunious Negro Republic of Liberia under American protection. To these may be added the Boers' Republic of South Africa in the Transvaal, though England claims over it a sort of suzerainty in foreign affairs. All the rest of Africa has been divided among the great nations in an incredibly short time — practically between the Berlin Conference of 1884 and the Anglo-French Convention of 1889, by which the respective boundaries on the Upper Nile were defined. Two-fifths of Africa are in British hands and comprise Egypt, the eastern Soudan, the Niger territory to the westward, East and South Africa separated only by a small stretch of German territory — an area of about 3,400,000 square miles with 45,000,000 inhabitants. France and Germany combined hold about a third of Africa France possesses Algiers, Tunis, the western Soudan, the French Congo region and Madagascar, altogether about 1,300,000 square miles and 10,000,000 inhabitants. The German possessions in eastern, western and southwestern Africa with the Cameroon region, 1,200,000 square miles with 10,000,000 inhabitants, are widely scattered but serve to block the progress of England and France. The Congo Free State, 900,000 square miles, with 32,000,000 inhabitants, was placed by the Berlin Conference under the sovereignty of the King of Belgium. Portugal is on the point of selling its possessions to England and Germany; Spain still maintains a protectorate over the gold coast south of Morocco and a few islands, Turkey its sovereignty over Tripoli, and Italy a slight foothold on the Red Sea.

The growing concentration of capital in the hands of a few and the threatening attitude of the laboring classes has of late intensified the race for colonial possessions. The governments of manufacturing and exporting countries are everywhere on the lookout for

markets, i. e., consumers, to procure work and wages for their own populations.

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§ 3.

CHURCH AND STATE.

602. Causes of the Culturkampf in Germany — The Franco-German War had hardly terminated when Prince Bismarck inaugurated a religious persecution, called the Culturkampf (Conflict of Culture) which had for its avowed aim the annihilation of the Catholic Church in Prussia. The National Evangelical Church was filled with dismay at the growth of the Catholic Church in the last thirty years. On the other hand Protestants, Liberals, and Freethinkers vaunted the Prussian victories over Austria and France as

a distinct triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism. Flushed with his recent successes Prince Bismarck maintained that the complete unity of the German Empire demanded the nationalization of the Catholic Church and her subjection to the State. He first entertained the vain hope of winning over the German Episcopate to his way of thinking. But badly disappointed by their loyal submission to the Vatican decrees he resorted to force. To carry out his ideas the ultra-liberal Dr. Falk was made minister of public worship. From Prussia the conflict spread to other German States and to Switzerland.

603. Preliminary Laws and Measures. — In 1871 the Catholic section of the ministry of worship was suppressed and pulpit utterances were placed under State surveillance. The establishment of a State dictatorship over all schools and the expulsion of the Jesuits (1872), of the so-called affiliated congregations (Redemptorists, Christian Brothers, Lazarists, Sisters of the Sacred Heart) 1873, and finally of all religious orders, not only struck at the rights of individuals and associations, but infringed upon the fundamental laws of the Prussian Constitution. To remove this objection and to clear the ground for still more drastic legislation, Articles 15, 16, and 18, which guaranteed the rights of the Catholic Church, were first altered and later in the conflict simply annulled. The alleged change of the Church by the proclamation of Papal infallibility had to serve as a reason for this sweeping measure. All Catholic Seminaries were closed and the students required to attend the courses of philosophy, literature and history in the State universities and to pass State examinations. On the other hand apostate and excommunicated clergymen (Old Catholics) were protected by the government in their holdings.

The attitude of the government as well as the determined resistance of the Catholics were thus characterized by the leaders: "Whatever we shall do," said Bismarck, "be assured of this, that we shall never go to Canossa." "We hear," replied Windthorst, "that it is to be a question of war to the knife against us; we on our part are desirous of peace but if you insist upon war, why, then you shall have it." And in reality, bishops, clergy and people rose as one man for their faith. Every new measure of religious tyranny was met by the protests of the clergy, jointly or individually, and by the passive but effective condemnation of the laity. Under the magnificent leadership of Mallinckrodt, Windthorst, Schorlemer-Alst, the Reichenspergers, etc., and their worthy successors, the Centre party by increasing

its force in every election finally obtained the balance of power in the Reichstag and by its fearless enunciation of clearly-defined principles of law and truth and by its wonderful cohesion in all questions of religion, became and still is the admiration of the world and the champion defender of the Church in Germany. In this noble struggle Pius IX. never ceased to encourage the German Catholics by his apostolic word.

604. Pius IX and William I. — Heretofore William I. had not been in favor of the Culturkampf, whilst the Empress strongly opposed it. But the ministers found a means of poisoning the Emperor's mind by distorting the Christmas Allocution of Pius IX., 1873. "In Germany," said the Holy Father, "men seek to uproot the Church from her very foundation; * * * men who are entirely ignorant of her principles arrogate to themselves the power of defining both the dogmas and the rights of the Church." The words were telegraphed over the land with the malicious insinuation: "Considerations for His Majesty forbid our rendering the full sense of the words into German." Newspapers which rent this veil of hypocrisy by publishing the full text were prosecuted by the government. By such means the Emperor was made to believe that his majesty and the honor of the nation were assailed by the Holy See and he withdrew his opposition to the Culturkampf.

605. The May Laws. — The notorious laws, passed for several years in the month of May, suppressed every exercise of Papal jurisdiction in Germany, prevented the authorities of the Church from punishing disobedient members, deprived the bishops of the free appointment to holdings and arrogated to the government the power of appointing and deposing bishops and priests. A bishop who, after the beginning of the conflict, exercised any of his functions, from ordaining a priest to consecrating the holy oils; a priest who said mass, administered the sacraments of baptism or penance, or carried the consolations of religion to the sick and dying without State permission, was first fined for every single case, then deprived of his income, finally imprisoned or exiled either from a specified district or from the Empire. When Pius IX. in his Encyclical of February 5th, 1875, declared the May laws null and void because directed against the divine Constitution of the Church, Falk retorted by restricting all State support and exemption from military service

to the Old Catholics and such clergymen alone as should subscribe to the May laws — thus offering a reward for apostasy.

Under the operation of these laws all the bishops, save three, and 1,770 priests were, by the year 1880, imprisoned, exiled, or dead, without being replaced; 9,000 religious, 7,763 of them women, were driven from their peaceful homes into misery and destitution *after* the expulsion of the Jesuits and affiliated orders; 601 parishes, comprising 644,697 souls, were entirely destitute of spiritual care, while 584 other parishes with over 1,500,000 souls were inadequately served.

606. Result of the Persecution. — The government was doomed to disappointment. The loyalty of the German Catholics to the Church and the Holy See remained unshaken. Not one theological student availed himself of the course of study prescribed by the State. Not one State-appointed priest obtained episcopal recognition. The Cathedral Chapters in all cases refused to choose vicars capitular at the bidding of the State. The number of clergy who submitted to the May laws amounted scarcely to twenty in the whole kingdom of Prussia and they were shunned by Catholics as traitors. In the dioceses deprived of their pastors the episcopal power was exercised by delegates unknown to the public but promptly obeyed by the Catholic people. The Bishop of Paderborn personally administered his diocese from Belgium. In the archdiocese of Posen and Gnesen an association of young priests secretly discharged their pastoral duties in the vacant parishes. Espionage and priest hunts were of little avail and soon fell into universal contempt.

607. Going to Canossa. — The fruits of the Culturkampf began to ripen. Under the new education laws morality perceptibly decreased. The Emperor, half-hearted in the contest from the beginning, was seriously annoyed by the fact, that all parliamentary legislation was in the hands of the irreligious Liberal Party. Socialism was spreading rapidly among the Protestants. On May 11, 1878, two shots were fired at the Emperor, while out driving with his daughter, by Hoedel, a young socialist. On June 2, another attempt was made upon the Emperor's life, by Dr. Nobiling, an anarchist, who fired two shots, this time wounding the Emperor in the face, the arms, and the hands. William I. became alarmed at the dangers threatening the country, and openly proclaimed the necessity of religion and Christian education for his people.

Bismarck himself reluctantly acknowledged his cause defeated by the unflinching loyalty to their faith of the German Catholics. Under these circumstances he thought it prudent to go to Canossa. Besides, he needed the Catholics against the Liberals in his new policy of protection. He needed the Pope himself whom he had persecuted so long, to aid him in both internal and external difficulties of his administration. In 1878 the Iron Chancellor opened negotiations with Leo XIII. In 1879 he dropped minister Falk and his policy. The satisfactory way in which Leo XIII. mediated between Germany and Spain in a dispute about the possession of certain Caroline islands — recognizing Spain's right to the islands whilst securing valuable commercial concessions to Germany, 1885 — greatly improved the relations between the Vatican and Berlin. All hostile legislation ceased. Concessions were made on both sides. One by one the usurped powers over the Catholic Church were given up by the Prussian government. After 1887 State interference in the administration of the Church and in the education of the priesthood was, to a great part, abandoned. William II., who, after the death of his grandfather and the short reign of his dying father, Frederic III., ascended the throne in 1888, spoke at the opening of the Prussian Parliament for religious toleration and the termination of the Culturkampf and pledged himself to maintain a religious peace in the countries under his rule. The dismissal of Prince Bismarck from office put the seal on the Imperial promises.

608. In Other Countries. — Within the last three decades similar persecutions of the Church have disgraced other European governments. The methods have varied according to national differences and precedents, but the aim was identical, the destruction of the Church of Christ.

In Russia the Czars (the present ruler excepted), have employed the ruthless cruelty of Cossack and police agent to suppress Catholicism in Poland and to drive the Uniats or Ruthenians into the Russian schism. The Ruthenians are the Catholic descendants of the ten or twelve million Christians who in 1595 submitted to the Holy See under King Sigismund of Poland. In the provinces of Podolia, Minsk, Grodno, Vilna, Catholic churches closed or demolished, Catholic priests removed and schismatics appointed; in Lithuania hundreds of Catholics imprisoned, cut or trampled down, crippled or whipped to death by the Cossacks; men separated from their wives and children and sent to Siberia for no other crime than their Catholicity (atrocities of Kroze, 1893) — are some of the devices resorted

to. Yet all the brutality of Russian methods was unable to shake the faith of the Polish and Ruthenian Catholics.

In France and Italy, and for a time in Belgium and Spain, the laws against the Church and Christian education were the work of Masonic lodges. To banish religion from the schools, to train up the young in the hatred of priests and of religion, to sweep away as far as possible crucifixes, Madonnas, statues of the saints, to persecute the clergy, to banish religious, to draft seminarists and priests into the army and send them to barracks and camp — are the means by which they carry on the internecine war against Jesus Christ and His religion.

In France the Third Republic has shown itself singularly ungrateful for the very definite service which Cardinal Lavigerie and Leo XIII. rendered it when they urged the Catholics to rally around the existing form of government. The latest Masonic law against the religious orders (drawn up by Ribot), is a graduated system of taxation so devised and calculated as to render extinct within a period of eight to ten years all religious institutions conducted by the regular clergy.

In Belgium the Masonic government, lifted into power by Frère-Orban, passed a law in 1879 which abolished the denominational system of primary education adopted in 1830, and established a godless system of instruction. To blind the Catholics to the real aim — the de-christianization of Belgium — an illusory clause embodied in the bill decreed that a room in the school should be put at the disposition of the clergy for giving religious instruction either before or after school hours. This clause degraded religion in the eyes of the children beneath the lowest of secular branches. The bishops of Belgium in a pastoral letter, approved by Leo XIII., forbade the Catholics to co-operate in the new system and exhorted them to erect their own schools. The Belgian Catholics answered this appeal with great generosity, and accepted, though under protest, the burden of double taxation which the injustice of Frère-Orban's government entailed upon them. This opposition of the Church and the success of the Catholic schools so enraged the Prime Minister, that he rudely severed all diplomatic connections with the Holy See, 1882. But in 1884 the Catholics rose in their might and smashed the liberal government by a most decisive majority. The first Parliamentary measure of the new cabinet (M. Malou, President of Council) re-establishing diplomatic relations with the Holy See was one of justice and homage to the spiritual head of their country. The second, that of a new education bill, swept away in a very great measure the gross abuses and cruel intolerance that marked the Act of 1879 and its working. The revised Constitution of 1893, which raised the number of voters from 140,000 to 1,350,000 electors, resulted in an overwhelming victory of the Catholics in 1894.

Whereas in Catholic countries the Catholics had to suffer for their faith, the Church enjoyed a period of peace, prosperity, and perceptible growth in the United States, in England, and the extensive colonial possessions

of Great Britain. China, Japan, Corea, and most of the Indian and Pacific islands have their settled church establishments, and Catholic missionaries have crossed the closely-guarded frontiers of Thibet. Africa has become a vast network of apostolic enterprises in spite of the murderous climate and the nefarious slave trade. When the noble crusade of Cardinal Lavigerie against slavery shall bear its fruit, a great future will dawn upon the Church in Africa.

609. The Roman Question. — The most important question awaiting a solution is the Roman question. For a body of nearly 300,000,000 Catholics belonging to every civilized nation has a far deeper and more lasting interest in the complete independence of the Holy See than in any merely political question. The position in Rome of the head of the Catholic Church has been a violent and unnatural one since 1870, and has become more so in the progress of time owing to the growth of revolutionary and irreligious principles in the party that rules Italy. This party is primarily not a political but an anti-Catholic party which in its hatred of God and of Christ strikes at the temporal ruler of the Papal States in order to strike at the Vicar of Christ. Official utterances in the earlier Parliament of the Italian Kingdom prove it. "We must overthrow the Catholic Church" (Crispi). "The catechism is an *immoral* book which should be banished from our homes" (Signor Cairoli). "The Church is the negation of humanity" (S. Piccolomini). "We have need of a revolution in the name of all other religions against the Catholic Church" (S. Andreotti). This ruling party stands in the way of a reconciliation between the Church and the State in Italy. The Pope is in conscience bound to demand at least such a temporal sovereignty — say the city of Rome and surroundings — "as shall be sufficient to guarantee his real and manifest independence." The Italian Revolution will hear of no reconciliation unless the Supreme Pontiff ratify the sacrilege of 1870. Political unity is not the highest good of Italy. "Natural reason," Leo XIII. wrote to Cardinal Rampolla in 1887, "recognizes the need of giving the first place to *considerations of justice*, since this is the *first foundation of the happiness and permanence of States*, especially when it is bound up, as in the present case, with the highest interests of the Church."

But the union of Italy can be preserved without a King ruling at Rome. One way has been pointed out by the Peace of Villafranca

and Zürich (see p. 316), another by the United States. The exceptional position and government of the District of Columbia does not interfere with the Union. Whatever form of settlement Providence may have in store, one thing is certain, the present violent state of things cannot last. Whether the delay be for a short time or for long years, the triumph of the Holy Father must come. "One hundred and seventy times the Popes have been driven out of Rome, and one hundred and seventy times they have returned in triumph and shaken themselves free of the sacrilegious hands of their enemies." "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

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(On Martin's Histoire de France.) The use of this work should be controlled, in all matters of religion, by M. L'Epinois: *M. H. Martin et son Hist. de France* (1 vol.).

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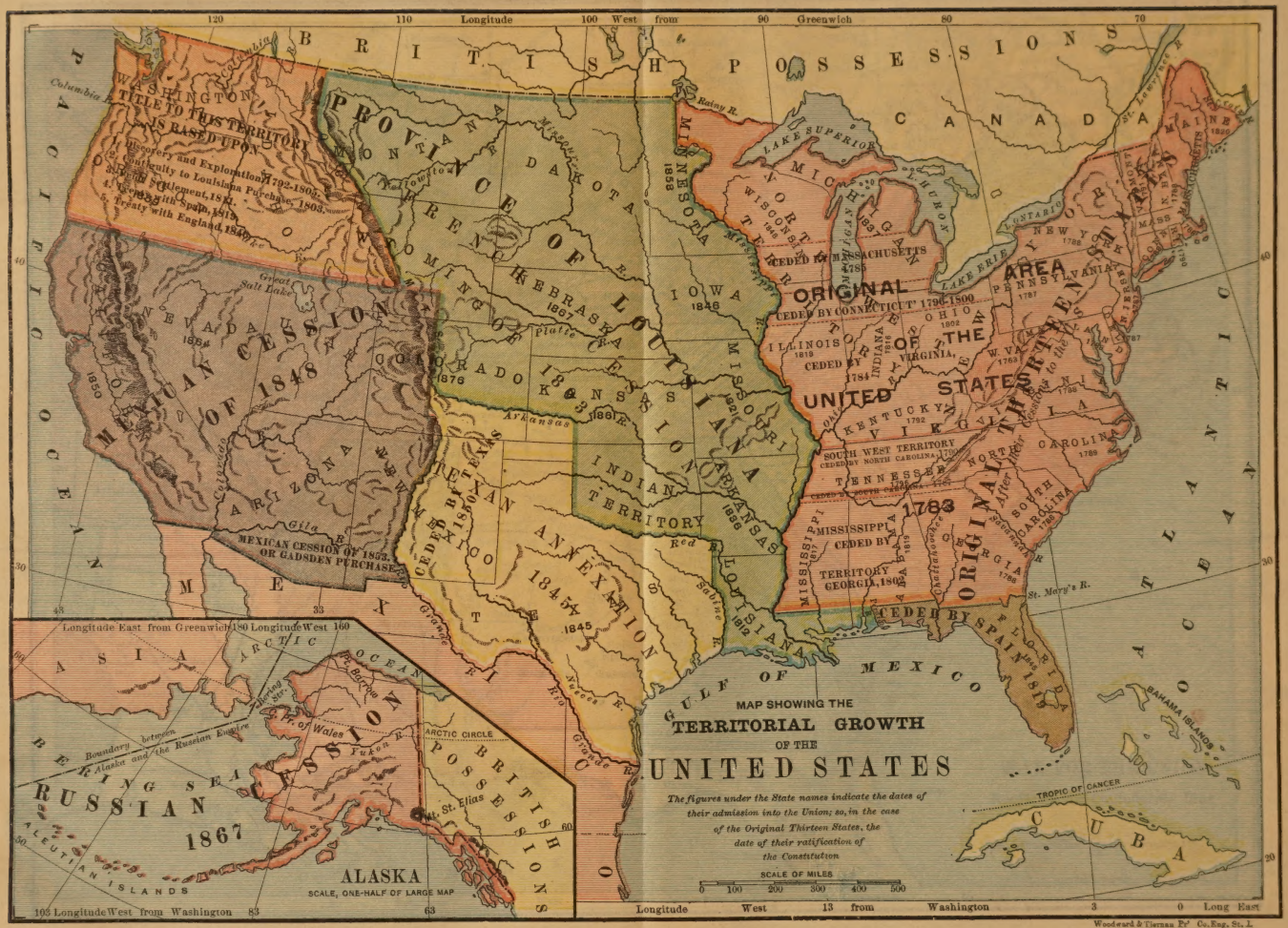
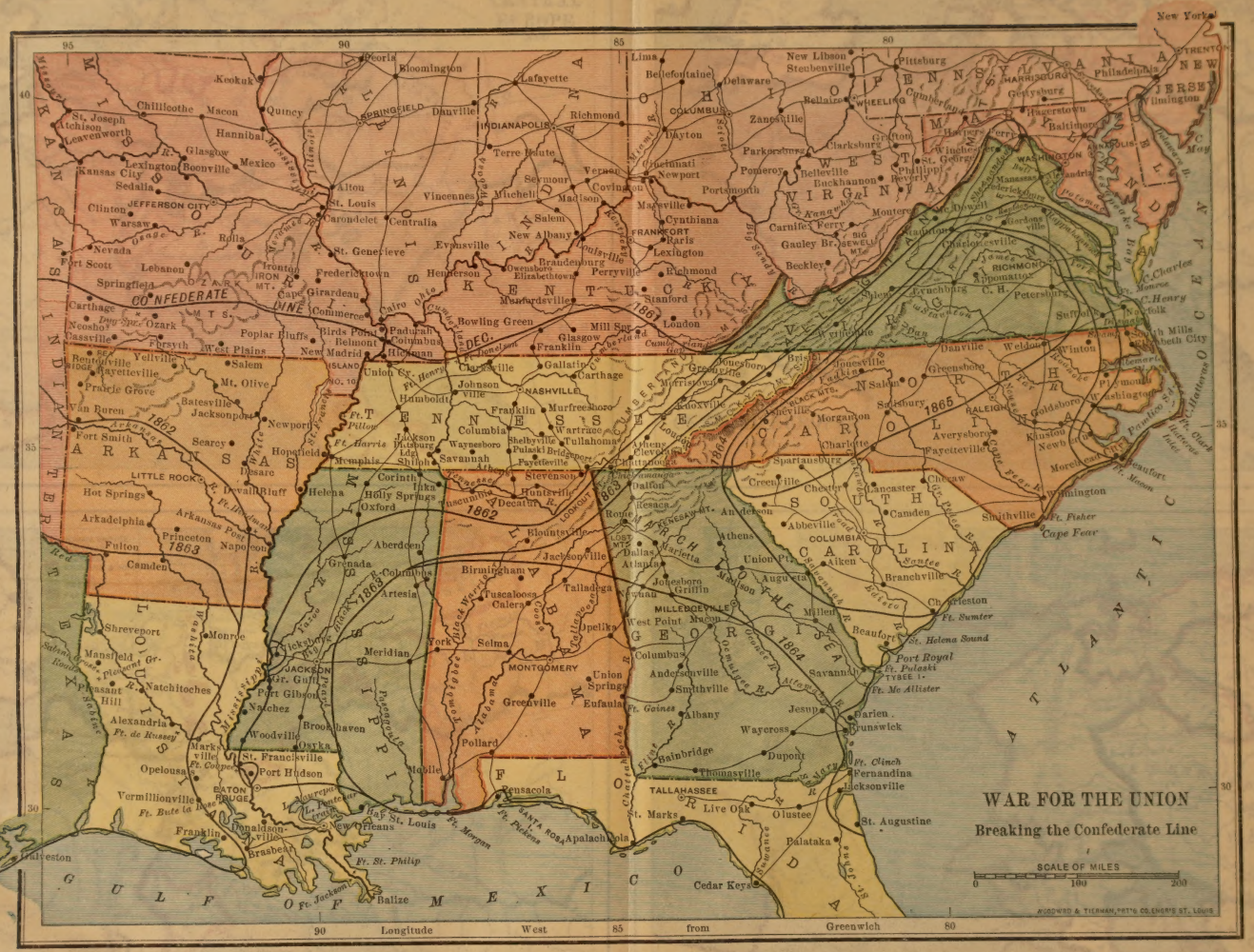

MAP SHOWING THE
TERRITORIAL GROWTH
OF THE
UNITED STATES
The figures under the State names indicate the dates of their admission into the Union; so, in the case of the Original Thirteen States, the date of their ratification of the Constitution
ORIGINAL AREA
ORIGINAL THIRTEEN STATES
1783
MEXICAN CESSION OF 1848
PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA
1803
TEXAS ANNEXATION
1845
MEXICAN CESSION OF 1853 OR GADSDEN PURCHASE
RUSSIAN 1867
ALASKA
SCALE, ONE-HALF OF LARGE MAP
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
MEXICO
CUBA
BAHAMA ISLANDS
TROPIC OF CANCER
ARCTIC CIRCLE
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude West from Washington
Longitude East from Greenwich
Woodward & Tiernan Pr' Co. Eng. St. L.


WAR FOR THE UNION
Breaking the Confederate Line
SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200
CONFEDERATE LINE
1862
1863
1864
1865
1861
DEC.
Longitude West from Greenwich
90
85
80
95
40
35
30
Cape Fear
Ft. Fisher
Cape Hatteras
Cape Lookout
Ft. Sumter
St. Helena Sound
Port Royal
Ft. Pulaski
Ft. Mc Allister
Ft. Gaines
Ft. Clinch
Ft. Jackson
Ft. St. Philip
Ft. Pickens
Ft. Morgan
Ft. Harris
Ft. Pillow
Ft. de Russy
Ft. Coopers
Ft. Butte la Rose
Ft. Henry
Ft. Donelson
Ft. Powell
Ft. Taylor
Ft. Marion
Ft. Macon
Ft. Caswell
Ft. Johnston
Ft. Moore
Ft. Beauregard
Ft. Walker
Ft. Wagner
Ft. Sumter
Ft. Moultrie
Ft. Pulaski
Ft. Clinch

ROMAN EMPIRE
AUSTRIAN
BRANDENBURG
SPANISH
SWEDISH
DANISH
FRENCH
SAVOYARD
ENGLISH
CENTRAL EUROPE
1660
DENMARK
POLAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
Swiss Confederation
Austria
HUNGARY
OTTOMAN DOMINIONS
W.& T.ST. L.

ROMAN EMPIRE
AUSTRIAN
PRUSSIAN
ENGLAND & HANOVER
DANISH
SWEDISH
FRENCH
SAVOYARD
CENTRAL EUROPE
1801
Helvetic Republic
Cisalpine Republic
RUSSIA
SPAIN
W.& T.ST. L.

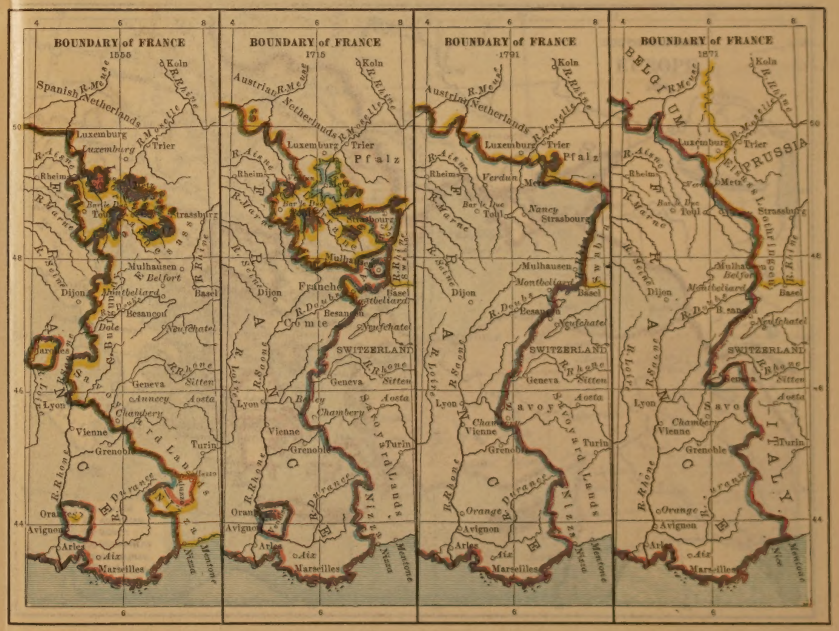
ROMAN EMPIRE
AUSTRIAN
PRUSSIAN
ENGLAND & HANOVER
DANISH
SWEDISH
FRENCH
SAVOYARD
CENTRAL EUROPE
1780
DENMARK
POLAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
Swiss Confederation
Austria
HUNGARY
OTTOMAN DOMINIONS

FRENCH EMPIRE & DEPENDENT STATES
AUSTRIAN
PRUSSIAN
SWEDISH
SAVOYARD
CENTRAL EUROPE
1810
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
Helvetic Republic
RUSSIA
SPAIN
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
KINGDOM OF NAPLES

GERMAN CONFEDERATION
AUSTRIAN
PRUSSIAN
ENGLAND & HANOVER
NETHERLANDS
DANISH
FRENCH
SAVOYARD
CENTRAL EUROPE
1815

GERMAN EMPIRE
PRUSSIAN
AUSTRIAN
FRENCH
ITALIAN
CENTRAL EUROPE
1871

GERMAN CONFEDERATION
AUSTRIAN
PRUSSIAN
NETHERLANDS
DANISH
FRENCH
ITALIAN
CENTRAL EUROPE
1860


BOUNDARY of FRANCE
1556
BOUNDARY of FRANCE
1715
BOUNDARY of FRANCE
1791
BOUNDARY of FRANCE
1871

SOUTH EASTERN
EUROPE
C. 1700
VENETIAN
SLAVES
AUSTRIAN
OTTOMANS
KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN

SOUTH EASTERN
EUROPE
C.1861
SLAVES
AUSTRIAN
GREEK
ROUMANIAN
OTTOMANS
ENGLISH

SOUTH EASTERN
EUROPE
C. 1727
VENETIAN
SLAVES
AUSTRIAN
OTTOMANS

SOUTH EASTERN
EUROPE
1861
SLAVES
AUSTRIAN
GREEK
ROUMANIAN
BULGARIAN
OTTOMANS
ENGLISH

THE
BALTIC LANDS
C. 1701
DENMARK & NORWAY
SWEDEN
POLAND & LITHUANIA
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA & BRANDENBG
HOUSE OF AUSTRIA
TURKS &C.
LITHUANIA
Volhynia
Podolia
Moldavia
Curland
Livland
Esthland
Ingermanland
Finland
MOSCOW
Kiew
Cossacks
Poltava
Kaffa
Astrakhan

THE
BALTIC LANDS
C. 1796
DENMARK & NORWAY
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
HOUSE OF AUSTRIA
TURKS &C.
ST. PETERSBURG
Lithuania
Volhynia
Galicia
Galicia & Lodomeria
New Russia
Livland
Esthland
Curland
MOSCOW
Kiew
Poltava
Kaffa

THE
BALTIC LANDS
C. 1772
DENMARK & NORWAY
SWEDEN
POLAND & LITHUANIA
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
HOUSE OF AUSTRIA
TURKS &C.
ST. PETERSBURG
Livland
Esthland
Curland
Volhynia
Podolia
Moldavia
MOSCOW
Kiew
Poltava
Kaffa

THE
BALTIC LANDS
C. 1809
DENMARK & NORWAY
SWEDEN
WARSAW & SAXONY
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
TURKS &C.
ST. PETERSBURG
Livland
Esthland
Curland
Lithuania
Volhynia
Galicia
AUSTRIAN
EMPIRE
New Russia
MOSCOW
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